

LEARNING FROM MAOSHAN:
TEMPLE CONSTRUCTION IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CHINA

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Maoshan 茅山, a range of mountains southeast of Nanjing, has been home to one of China's most influential Daoist temples. One of Maoshan's most famous patriarchs was Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536 CE), a polymath whose wide range of interests included alchemy, genealogy, mapmaking, herbal medicine, and Daoist ritual. Scholarship on Tao has focused on his editorial work of the Shangqing Revelations, an assortment of mid-fourth-century scriptures written at Maoshan. I build on these earlier studies by demonstrating that Tao promoted the Shangqing Revelations as a prospectus for prospective clients interested in building temple compounds. I first study Tao's commentary to the Shangqing Revelations in which Tao persuaded his principal sponsor, Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝, to invest in temple construction at Maoshan. I argue that Tao interpreted the revelations as evidence that his sponsor's salvation was predicated, at least in part, on the completion of a temple compound. I further show that Tao's skills as an excavator and architect of temples helped justify his leadership over this burgeoning institution.

In the middle chapters of this study, I analyze the ways in which Tao's persona as a "temple builder" would likely have been received by potential clients. The methodology of these chapters is explicitly comparative: I examine hagiographies, scriptures, and inscriptions composed in both early imperial and medieval China. I rely heavily on narratives written in both Buddhist and Daoist contexts. This disparate group of texts illustrates the history that made Tao's status as a temple developer a recognizable social role by his era. It further establishes that Tao's temple building was one expression of a cultural practice that transcended doctrinal and geographic boundaries.

In the final chapter, I examine Tao's construction at Maoshan during his post-515

abbacy, a period when he remade Maoshan into a Buddhist-Daoist ritual site. While Tao might have altered the doctrinal symbols of his temple, his representation of his abbotship remained consistent with his earlier writings. Tao's representation of the cooperation between clerics and sponsors, I conclude, formed a template for later religious entrepreneurs at Maoshan.

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INTRODUCTION

Though comparison is often taken simplistically as a way of establishing similarities and defamed as facily settling for superficial likenesses, the real goal of comparison is to discover, and even to create, firm ground for revealing and evaluating significant differences.¹

Unlike many forms of religious architecture elsewhere, Chinese temples rarely have structural signs identifying to which religious traditions buildings belong.² Since religious architecture in China often appears very similar, leaders have long installed written texts to shape the religious identities of temple compounds.³ Many of these texts, like the large characters inscribed on the architrave (*men'e* 門額) and stele monuments (*bei* 碑) erected in

¹ Sullivan, *Ianchu's Drum*, 19.

² While the skeletal frame and wooden members forming a Chinese temple building may be distinguished by period-style or identified by features associated with a specific geographical region, most traditional Chinese temples replicated a single form, the multi-hall Chinese palace. These compounds were typically oriented on a north-south axis with a series of small rooms clustered around a main hall, and were supported with pillars and bracketing systems, a feature enabling these buildings to reach unprecedented heights. Steinhardt, "Taoist Architecture," 57, and "Temple: Daoist," 9056; Soper, *Evolution of Buddhist Architecture*, 94–102; Boyd, *Chinese Architecture*, 23–40; Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 4, Part 3*, 86–88; Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization*, 46–75; Lewis, *The Construction of Space*, 153–57; Sterckx, "The Economics of Religion," 877.

³ This study follows Walter Burkert's distinction between "temple compound" as the physical layout and construction of the buildings and "temple complex" as referring to the institutions in a more abstract sense. See his "The Meaning and Function of the Temple," 27–33.

front of these compounds, commemorate the construction of a new temple or the renovation of a preexisting compound.⁴

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that while temple-related texts were locally installed, they could be copied and circulated *translocally* by collectors with varying ideologies and patronage networks.⁵ Texts describing a temple's history, for example, supplied biographical and geographical information for gazetteers, and these narratives also served as focal points for anecdotes and short stories.⁶ The growing readership of these texts is further reflected in the increasing cost of production—sponsors hired eminent writers to compose texts and sought skilled artisans to engrave them.⁷ Finally, an increased imperial oversight of the production of temple-related texts suggests that these writings were potent symbols widely read, distributed, and discussed.⁸

⁴ The earliest scholarship on these monuments focused on the artistic and calligraphic qualities of temple monuments. Gatling, "A Dated Buddhist Stele of 461 A.D.," 250; Fernald, "Stele of the Departure," 171–73; Priest, "A Chinese Stele," 236; Roberts, "A Stele of the North Wei Dynasty," 14; TenBroeck, "A Taoist Inscription," 77–78; Sirén, "Two Chinese Buddhist Stele," 10; Bunker, "The Style of the Trübner Stele," 27–28; Sickman, "A Sixth-Century Buddhist Stele," 222–23; Chow, "Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," 312. Early scholars who attempted to translate the written portions of these inscriptions were faced with the formidable task of deciphering the terse diction and dense imagery of lengthy, periphrastic texts. Upon reading a late fifth century temple inscription, Richard Mather remarked that he "was largely frustrated...by the overwhelming odds against the possibility of making a translation at all, to say nothing of a readable, or even rational one." Mather, "Wang Chin's," 339. More recently, scholars have made great strides in analyzing these texts. See Tonami, *The Shaolin Monastery Stele*; Kroll, *Dharma Bell*; Bokenkamp, "The Yao Boduo Stele"; Brashier, "Eastern Han Commemorative Stelae"; Pettit, "The Erotic Empress."

⁵ See Li Daoyuan's 酈道元 (d. 527 CE) *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 and Yang Xuanzhi's 楊銓之 (fl. 547) *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, books in which editors cited extensively from temple-related texts. Company, *Making Transcendents*, 223–24; Lai, "Society and the Sacred in the Secular City," 246–47; Nylan, "Wandering in the Ruins," 64–65, 77. For more on the readership of inscriptions, see Rao, "Cong shike," 398; Brashier, "Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Stelae," 249. For theoretical considerations of how writers conceived of other peoples (and by extension temples) as relevant to their own cultural identity, see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 188; Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 29–30.

⁶ Chittick, "Pride of Place," 150–53; Shinohara, "Biographies of Eminent Monks in a Comparative Perspective," 484, 489; Company, *Making Transcendents*, 236–41; Zhiru, *The Making*, 135–39; Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism*, 48–88.

⁷ Many of these temple institutions operated in marginal areas where access and transport of materials was costly and burdensome; thus the production of these monuments was an expensive amenity. My awareness of the economics of this commemorative culture has deepened through reading about analogous establishments in late antique and early medieval Europe. See Brown, *Authority and the Sacred*, 62. For more on the hiring of famous writers to compose these texts, see Kroll, *Dharma Bell*, 15, 50; Pettit, "The Erotic Empress," 130; McNair, *Donors of Longmen*, 51–74, 117; Harrist, *Landscape of Words*.

⁸ Stele monuments were considered such persuasive and influential texts that rulers at the end of the Han dynasty cracked down on the sumptuary rules required to erect these stones. As early as 205 rulers like Cao 曹操 (155–220 CE) placed bans on stele monuments for fear that the ideological views expressed in these texts might have a destabilizing effect on the population. Ch'en, "Inscribed Stelae," 78–79; Liu, *Zhongguo shufa*

For historians of early Buddhist and Daoist architecture, these texts are immensely significant because their descriptions of temple compounds are typically all that remains of the wooden buildings that long ago deteriorated or were destroyed.⁹ Recent studies of the written representation of temple architecture have largely focused on narratives describing compounds built at a single place, or those buildings of a particular tradition.¹⁰ Even in comparative studies, scholars have frequently taken temple-related texts as straightforward evidence of the dates, dimensions, and layout of construction.¹¹ Despite the interest in the appearance of temples, little has been written about the fantastic, hyperbolic language writers deployed in describing temple construction. Consider Ma Shu's 馬樞 (522–81 CE) account of a towering temple that Liu-Song Emperor Ming (Liu Yu 劉彧, r. 465–72 CE) commissioned on the crest of a hazy valley:

[He] bored into mountain cliffs and built the eaves [of the buildings] after chiseling rock and cutting out a foundation. [Here] he sent a cassia dais soaring to aurora cliffs and built peppered towers over smoky gullies. The wind [blowing through] its side doors made phoenixes stand erect, and the moon [shining through] its doors embosomed transcendents. Seekers of the Dao gazed out over ocean coves, and lived there by virtue of their pure and virtuous [hearts].¹²

鑽峰構宇，刊石裁基。聳桂榭於霞巘，架椒樓於煙壑。風闥竚鳳，月戶懷仙。求道望於海隅，簡素德以居之也。

shi, 501–03; Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 34; Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China*, 128; Harrist, *The Landscape of Words*, 233–35. See also the 278 proclamation issued by Jin Emperor Wu (r. 265–89 CE) calling for the destruction of monuments. *Songshu* 15.407; Ch'en, "Inscribed Stelae," 79–80; Hua, "Eastern Jin Epitaphic Stones," 47.

⁹ The sole exceptions to such decay are the various medieval shrines carved in caves. See Li, "Classification," 622–29; Lin, "The Buddhist Caves," 8–11. For more on caves, see chapter 2, 77–82.

¹⁰ Robson, *Power of Place*, 129–32; Li, "Classification," 636–66; Bumbacher, "On Pre-Tang Monastic Establishments," 155.

¹¹ Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 87–111. Also see Campany, "Review of *Monastic Life*," 165–66.

¹² *DZ* 1132, 2.3b [ZHDZ, 28.388a]. I have benefited from the translation in Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 336–37. It is not clear if the subject of this passage is the emperor or if it is Daoist master Wang Sengzhen 王僧鎮. Wang Xuanhe 王懸和 (fl. 664–84 CE), a later editor of this text, places the two passages side by side without any grammatical mark to distinguish them.

The above description of this temple is of minimal help if our goal is to study what building the emperor *really* commissioned in the late fifth century. We might infer from this passage that the emperor ordered a Daoist lodge to be constructed on a cliff, and he built a dormitory and a tower from which visitors could gain a commanding view of the surrounding valley. But to focus on the “architectural realities” of this description obscures the phenomenal manner by which Ma Shu characterizes how Emperor Ming built and utilized this temple.¹³ The emperor, writes Ma Shu, cut out the foundation for the temple from the mountainside, apparently without any help. Furthermore, this architectural marvel caused fabulous birds to alight at his windowsill, and divine beings to be encompassed within the boundaries of its windows. Ma Shu concludes that this building was an immense help to later practitioners who achieved liberation, at least in part, by the mere presence of this idyllic compound.

While the written representation of early Buddhist and Daoist temples might reveal little about what these buildings really looked like, what we do have is perhaps more interesting—a description of what temples were imagined to be. This study analyzes writers’ fascination with early Buddhist and Daoist compounds and illuminates the mental worlds of readers inspired to build, visit, and even destroy these buildings.¹⁴ I argue that the existence of narratives implies an audience in possession of a conventional understanding who would recognize in context the meaningfulness of temple construction.¹⁵ I reconstruct the contours of this conventional understanding by focusing on the main modes of rhetoric writers used in representing early Buddhist and Daoist architecture. While these writings represent the

¹³ I borrow the term “architectural realities” from Jonathan Z. Smith, who uses the phrase in reference to studies that rely on the written representation of early Christian architecture as straightforward evidence of a building’s appearance. See his *To Take Place*, 83.

¹⁴ My attention to the mental worlds of the readers of temple-related texts has profited from the extensive body of scholarship on how stereotypes encoded in literature reflect the community of readers who produced and consumed them. See Lincoln, “Thomas-Gospel,” 66; Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 3; Dickie, *Magic*, 11–12, 87–91; Schofer, *The Making of a Sage*, 118–19.

¹⁵ Like “tacit knowledge” or “passive reception,” “conventional understanding” refers to the fact that readers in early medieval China had preconceived notions of temples enabling them to effortlessly (and often unconsciously) recognize these compounds. For more on the formation of the role these cognitive mechanisms play in the minds of readers, see Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension*, 4–5; Innis, *The Bias*, 4; Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, 12; Bloch, *How We Think They Think*, 9–10.

interests of an elite few, they can nevertheless teach us about the attitudes and expectations governing readers' imaginations of temple compounds.

My interest in the written representation of temples has been piqued by studies of the linguistic processes through which writers inscribed new identities on temple sites. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that temple-related texts often emerged due to contestation between one or more parties vying for ideological control of a site.¹⁶ By analyzing the persuasive aims of temple-related texts, I stress how written texts served as tools through which writers altered, replaced, or created new memories associated with temple compounds. I especially focus on the written representation of clerics who were characterized as the designers, builders, and managers of temple compounds.¹⁷ Previous studies of clerics operating in this era have focused on their achievements in terms of textual work and religious doctrine. I introduce a new description of clerics as a kind of religious entrepreneur: a type of would-be movement leader reliant on architectural expertise to attract lucrative sponsorships. Temple building, I conclude, became an important measure of religious and "professional" success for clerics. Consequently, the negotiation between clerics and sponsors was an essential part of the dynamic of religious ambition and participation in medieval China.

In order to introduce the clerical development of temples in this era, the first chapter ("Building on the Past: A Stereoscopic View of Chinese Temple Cultures") compares two

¹⁶ Campany, *Making Transcendents*, 216–58; Bujard, "State and Local Cults," 805–06; Harrist, *The Landscape of Words*, 232–35; Faure, "Space and Place," 342–44; Walsh, *Sacred Economies*, 82–86; Puett, "Listening to Sages," 272–73; Kleeman, "Reconstructing China's Religious Past," 43. For more on the theoretical considerations of how writers actively reformulated (rather than passively transmitting) earlier texts, see Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production," 29–32; Lefevere, *Translation*, 9, 15–23; Conrad, "Recovering Lost Texts," 258; Connery, *The Empire of the Text*, 46.

¹⁷ I use "cleric" throughout this study as a term of comparison. It encompasses a wide range of priests and monks, both Daoist and Buddhist, who headed temple complexes by appealing to aristocratic and/or royal sponsors for support. This category of individuals is reminiscent of Max Weber's use of "prophet" to categorize a wide range of religious professionals in his *The Sociology of Religion*, 46.

representations of a single temple compound at Maoshan 茅山.¹⁸ The first was written by Yang Xi 楊羲 (330–86 CE), the spiritual advisor of Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76 CE) and developer of a compound on the northwestern face of Maoshan. I analyze how Yang persuaded Xu to construct a temple through the combination of backward- and forward-looking statements—Yang describes the adepts thought to have resided on Maoshan in antiquity and bolsters his claims that Xu should likewise sponsor a similar project in the future. I next compare Yang’s two modes of rhetoric with the representation of Maoshan as written by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536 CE). Tao, like Yang, wrote extensively about the history of construction at Maoshan in an attempt to persuade his sponsor, Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝 (Xiao Yan 蕭衍, r. 502–49 CE), to build a temple compound on the mountain. The juxtaposition of these two different representations of Maoshan establishes that there was a relatively constant set of rhetorical strategies by which writers justified the creation (and destruction) of temple compounds.

Since there are no extant texts written about Maoshan in the intervening years between Yang and Tao, the second chapter (“Temple Architecture as a Ground of Dispute”) situates these two representations of temple construction at Maoshan within a growing interest in the building of ritual architecture in China. Historians of Buddhism and Daoism have long supposed that temple compounds were constituent parts of these early communities, but I stress that architecture was a feature that gained acceptance gradually over this period. I first study early Buddhist translations where writers describe the construction of ancient Indian compounds. While these writings are not about Chinese temple compounds per se, I show that there are excellent indicators of the kinds of devotional meanings attached to ritual

¹⁸ Maoshan is a cluster of mountains located eighty kilometers southeast of present-day Nanjing (see MAP 2, C–5). It currently ranks as a top-tier tourist site as defined by the Bureau of Tourism. For more on its recent development and reconstruction in the wake of the Cultural Revolution, see Yang, *Maoshan Daojiao zhi*, 6–7.

architecture of this period.¹⁹ I follow this with an analysis of Daoist texts edited during this same period to show that there were various interpretations concerning where practitioners should conduct rituals. I conclude this chapter with a study of a relatively unstudied Daoist hagiography, which illustrates the kinds of arguments writers in the fifth and sixth centuries developed to encourage readers to build ritual compounds.

The third and fourth chapters delve deeper into the backward- and forward-looking statements observed earlier in the Maoshan texts; I argue that these two modes were omnipresent in the ways that readers conceived of the past, present, and future of temple compounds in early medieval China. The third chapter (“The Medieval Excavation of Antiquity”) analyzes how the backward-looking statements concerning Maoshan’s past resonated with a broader interest in ancient sacred sites during the Han dynasty and early medieval eras. I emphasize the symbolic capital writers attached to ancient ruins, and show that there was an increasing interest in excavating ancient sites to search for dilapidated architecture and buried artifacts. This interest in antiquity was not the invention of either Buddhist or Daoist writers, but was adapted from even earlier cultural practices. I conclude that Tao Hongjing’s rewriting of Maoshan at the turn of the sixth century coincided with a cultural practice in which clerics used their knowledge of history to identify the history of sacred sites and undertake temple construction projects atop these ancient foundations.

The fourth chapter (“Architecture and Clerical Identity in Liang China”) explores the forward-looking statements of temple construction by examining stories about late fifth- and early sixth-century clerics who served as designers, builders, and contractors to temple construction projects. This chapter argues that the notion of temple architecture, like excavation, was not the creation of Buddhists or Daoists, but was a practice adapted from

¹⁹ This study builds on recent research demonstrating that Buddhism’s entry wasn’t the attack by a foreign megalith, but a subtle entry of new ideas grafted onto old structures. While no one has examined the relationship between Buddhist architecture and their classical Chinese counterparts, similar conclusions have been drawn through the study of other doctrinal and cultural conventions. Sharf, *Coming to Terms*, 77–130; Salguero, “The Buddhist Medicine King,” 199–201. See also Canepa, *The Two Eyes*, 154–87.

ancient Chinese notions concerning the builders of royal temples and palaces. The texts written by and about the clerics of Tao Hongjing's day, however, demonstrate that there was a marked increase in the architectural expertise attached to clerical builders. These sources, which are primarily about Buddhist developers, illustrate that Tao's prospectus would have been intelligible to readers given the ambitious projects undertaken by the clerics of his day.

The comparison of Buddhist and Daoist texts in the middle chapters of this study offers great insight into Tao Hongjing's later projects at Maoshan, most notably his dual promotion of the mountain as a Buddhist-Daoist site. The final chapter ("Relearning Maoshan: Writing and Rewriting Chinese Temples") builds upon the comparative framework to show that while Tao might have altered the doctrinal symbols of his temple, his representation of his abbotship remained consistent with his earlier writings. I focus on a construction project Emperor Wu sponsored between 516–18 to rebuild on the foundation of Xu Mi's ancient compound. I demonstrate that Tao used the same rhetorical modes in promoting his role as Maoshan's preeminent cleric. The second part of this chapter analyzes promotional literature written for reconstructions of the same site in the seventh and eighth centuries. I underscore how Tao's representation of the cooperation between clerical custodians and imperial sponsors formed a clear template for three centuries of shrine-building activity on Maoshan.

My aim in juxtaposing Maoshan and analogous institutions is not to equate the various kinds of ritual spaces, nor is it to argue that readers in early medieval China would have made similar associations on their own. Rather, I categorize these sacred sites as *temples* in an effort to study how the cultural norms, expectations, and stereotypes surrounding ritual architecture were manifested in analogous ways across a vast range of geographic and scriptural contexts. Since my data will be culled largely from texts composed in the third through sixth centuries, I will limit my discussion of Chinese temples to those

institutions commonly called Daoist or Buddhist. Future studies will, I hope, demonstrate that the written representation of temples discussed below could easily be applied to China's mosques, churches, or other religious institutions.

Despite its limited temporal scope, my study of early medieval texts indicates that writers of this era had a rich vocabulary to describe temples. Most writers in this era described temples with words denoting the “exterior view” of the temple (the *compound*) or its “interior view” (the *chamber*). In both cases, writers represented temples with language that was already commonplace when talking about residences (e.g., houses, palaces, hostels). TABLE 1 groups words used in the early medieval era to denote a temple compound. The first column lists these words in alphabetical order of their transliteration; the second column provides a connotative translation and briefly explains how the conceptual metaphor of a temple as a residence governs its usage. I will discuss the etymology of all these words in greater detail throughout my study; most words circulated in China prior to the advent Buddhist or Daoist scriptures.

TABLE 1—Words denoting “compounds” (the exterior of the temple)

<i>biezhai</i> 別宅	“separate residence”
<i>ci</i> 祠	“shrine”
<i>cishe</i> 祠舍	“shrine dwelling”
<i>gong</i> 宮	“palace”
<i>guǎn</i> 館	“lodge”
<i>guàn</i> 觀	“observatory”
<i>jiashē</i> 家舍	“family dwelling”
<i>jinglu</i> 精廬	“concentrative shanty”
<i>jīngshe</i> 精舍	“concentrative dwelling”
<i>jìngshe</i> 靜舍	“quiescent dwelling”
<i>jìngshe</i> 靖舍	“silent dwelling”
<i>keshe</i> 客舍	“guest dwelling”
<i>lu</i> 廬	“shanty”
<i>lushe</i> 廬舍	“shanty dwelling”
<i>miao</i> 廟	“temple”
<i>qielan</i> 伽藍	A contracted transliteration of the Sanskrit <i>saṅghārāma</i> (“a resting place for a company

	of monks”)
<i>sengqielanmo</i> 僧伽藍摩	A transliteration of the Sanskrit <i>saṅghārāma</i>
<i>sengqielan</i> 僧伽藍	A contracted transliteration of the Sanskrit <i>saṅghārāma</i>
<i>sengyuan</i> 僧園	“monk garden”
<i>shanguan</i> 山館	“mountain lodge”
<i>she</i> 舍	“dwelling”
<i>shewu</i> 舍屋	“dwelling [of] rooms”
<i>shezhai</i> 舍宅	“dwelling hermitage”
<i>si</i> 寺	“bureau,” usually translated as “monastery” because early Buddhist monasteries were often renovated from old office spaces
<i>simiao</i> 寺廟	“bureau temple”
<i>siyuan</i> 寺院	“bureau courtyard”
<i>tianshe</i> 田舍	“field dwelling”
<i>xiaowu</i> 小屋	“small room”
<i>xie</i> 廨	“station house”
<i>xieshe</i> 廨舍	“station dwelling”
<i>youxing chu</i> 遊行處	“place of recreation”
<i>yuan</i> 園	“garden”
<i>yuan</i> 院	“courtyard”
<i>zhai</i> 宅	“residence”
<i>zhongyuan</i> 眾園	“assembly of the garden”

Many of the same terms in TABLE 1 also appear among the words denoting the chambers where ritual activities occur within ritual compounds. As TABLE 2 indicates, the written representation of these places was dominated by names related to rooms, chambers, and bowers.

TABLE 2—Words denoting “chambers” (the interior of temples)

<i>chanfang</i> 禪房	“trance room”
<i>chanshi</i> 禪室	“trance chamber”
<i>dian</i> 殿	“sanctuary”
<i>fang</i> 房	“room”
<i>jiangtang</i> 講堂	“lecture hall”
<i>jinghu</i> 靜戶	“quiescent door”
<i>jingshe</i> 精舍	“concentrative dwelling”

<i>jingshe</i> 靜舍	“quiescent dwelling”
<i>jingshe</i> 靖舍	“silent dwelling”
<i>jingshi</i> 靜室	“quiescent chamber”
<i>jingshi</i> 靖室	“silent chamber”
<i>jingtai</i> 經臺	“scripture loft”
<i>jingtang</i> 經堂	“scripture hall”
<i>jingwu</i> 靜屋	“quiescent bower”
<i>maoshi</i> 茆室	“thatched chamber”
<i>mishi</i> 密室	“secret chamber”
<i>neishe</i> 內舍	“inner dwelling”
<i>qindian</i> 寢殿	“back sanctuary”
<i>qinmiao</i> 寢廟	“back temple”
<i>qinshi</i> 寢室	“back chamber”
<i>sengzhu chu</i> 僧住處	“monk’s place of residence”
<i>shi</i> 室	“chamber”
<i>tai</i> 臺	“loft”
<i>tan</i> 壇	“altar”
<i>tang</i> 堂	“hall”
<i>waishe</i> 外舍	“outer dwelling”
<i>xiang</i> 廂	“annex”
<i>yinshi</i> 隱室	“hidden chamber”
<i>youshi</i> 幽室	“shrouded chamber”
<i>zhaishi</i> 齋室	“fasting chamber”
<i>zhaitang</i> 齋堂	“fasting hall”

At first, it may seem a rather elementary observation that the words Chinese writers use when describing the compound and chambers of temple mostly derive from language about residences. Temples, after all, are typically composed of a single building or a cluster of buildings, and thus it is self-evident that writers would choose terms related to architecture. But it remains unclear how readers in early medieval China identified and understood the differences between the types of structures or spaces mentioned in the lists above. More simply put, if the words denoting temple complexes were so similar and all connoted similar ideas of rest, idleness, and pleasure, what distinguished the religious tradition (e.g., Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism) of one compound from the other? Furthermore, how might these

various words connote different identities for the individuals who lived, sponsored, or built these structures?

By relating the production of Maoshan texts to various Buddhist and Daoist counterparts, we gain new insights that a study of only one tradition or place would fail to notice.²⁰ In particular, an analysis of Tao Hongjing's rewriting of Maoshan facilitates a rethinking of what historians of Chinese Buddhism have called the "second phase" in the development of monastic culture in China. Unlike the first wave of Buddhist monks, whom scholars have characterized as charismatic wonderworkers, clerics belonging to this "second phase" have been understood as temple managers transmitting the past through the codification of rules and transmission of scriptures.²¹ Seen through the lens of Tao Hongjing's writings, however, we gain a new perspective of these clerics as actively revising (and at times fabricating) the past in an attempt to assert their custodianship over increasingly complex institutions.²² This study further proposes that the clerics of Tao's era were instrumental in setting a precedent for how later clerics (and even present-day leaders) represented their occupancy of temple compounds.

While the events featured in this study are drawn solely from sources written in connection with the temples of early medieval China, historians of religions will find this study applicable to a broader, comparative study of religions. First, this study explores the roles written texts play in forming attitudes about ritual architecture and sacred sites. I probe deeper into how writers adapt and reformulate previously circulating texts as a means to

²⁰ My comparative approach has been inspired by historians of Chinese religions who explore how cultural practices are adapted into a wide range of religious expression. See Company, "On the Very Idea of Religions"; Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism*; Bokenkamp, *Ancestors*; Hsieh, *Tianjie zhi wen*; Kuramoto, "Hokuchō zōzōmei."

²¹ Zürcher, "Beyond the Jade Gate," 200; Lai, *Society and the Sacred*, 232; Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism*, 245–52.

²² My awareness of the rhetoric medieval writers used to represent their leadership of institutions has greatly benefited from the studies of Chan Buddhist institutions. See especially McRae, *Seeing through Zen*, 101–18, and "Daoxuan's Vision of Jetavana," 71–72; Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission*, 171–78, and "The Impossibility of the Given," 166–67; Sharf, "The Idolization of Enlightenment."

secure political and financial backing for the construction of sacred sites.²³ I draw attention to the ways that developers of sacred sites use written texts to shape how readers imagine not only the appearance of architecture but also the spiritual benefits of contributing to such projects.

I also stress the key roles that readers play in interpreting and rewriting texts about religious architecture. By analyzing the readership of temple-related texts in China, I highlight that readers were not passive receivers of these texts, but actively edited, reproduced, and rewrote previously circulating narratives. The long-term effects of this rewriting demonstrate that conceptions about architecture (like the physical buildings) develop with older and newer layers of meanings read side-by-side. Temple construction in China serves as a focal point to understand an ongoing layering of meaning and the cognitive effects resulting from these textual processes.

Architecture represents one of the major expenditures that any religious organization must make in securing a permanent place of worship. In every case, leaders of institutions must develop some kind of fundraising to secure the financial backing required to purchase land, contract labor, and maintain the building(s). This study, which focuses on these aspects of practical religion in early medieval China, illustrates the need for interdisciplinary study to understand in a more holistic way a phenomenon traditionally studied through the compartmentalized perspectives of academic disciplines, such as art history, religious studies, literature, and history. The following chapters provoke a rethinking of the rhetoric shaping the ways people think about religious architecture.

²³ In writing about the intersections of written text, sacred space, and royal sponsorship, I see this study as continuing the work of historians who have written about the written representation of the recovery and rebuilding of sacred sites. See especially Smith, *To Take Place*, 74–95; Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, 19–46; Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*, 78–82; Schopen, *Figments and Fragments*, 25–62; Campany, *Making Transcendents*, 216–24.

CHAPTER 1

BUILDING ON THE PAST:

A STEREOSCOPIC VIEW OF CHINESE TEMPLE CULTURES

This chapter establishes the existence of a shared cultural practice by which Chinese writers produced narratives about temple construction. I identify two modes of rhetoric that writers deployed in their promotion of temple compounds. The first mode includes backward-looking statements in which writers featured the persons, practices, and events associated with the past development of a site. The second encompasses those passages where writers discuss the present appearance of a site, as well as forward-looking statements concerning future development. By juxtaposing these two rhetorical modes, I argue, writers could (and often did) develop new temple designs that, they claimed, were merely reiterating what had been built previously. This strategy enabled writers to communicate new forms of temple practice without their readers perceiving these designs as novel ideas.¹

In an effort to introduce these modes of rhetoric, I analyze two different representations of a temple compound constructed in a single place, Maoshan 茅山, a chain of mountains east of present-day Nanjing. The first part analyzes texts composed by the spiritual advisor Yang Xi 楊羲 (330–86 CE) on behalf of his sponsor, Xu Mi 許謐 (303–76

¹ This tension between the production and reception of new sacred sites is by no means limited to China. See Jonathan Z. Smith's study of Eusebius's (c. 263–339 CE) recovery of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which Smith writes, "The creation of a new ritual site is always an intriguing process. For, from the standpoint of ritual, novelty may result in a functional gain, but just as often, in an ideological loss. If the former allows the freedom to innovate, the latter may result in a lack of resonance." Smith, *To Take Place*, 75. I have also found Smith's more recent study of the creation of ritual place as occurring through "linguistic processes" an immensely valuable aid in this study. See his "The Topography of the Sacred," 111.

CE).² As early as 364, Yang claimed to have made contact with the Perfected (*zhenren* 真人), deities thought to live beneath Maoshan. Among his revelations addressed to Xu Mi, Yang wrote about a divine injunction requiring Xu to build a temple at Maoshan.³ I treat Yang's divine revelations about the past adepts of Maoshan and Xu's future temple as a rhetorical strategy by which Yang promoted the benefits of temple construction. I emphasize how Yang's revelations and Xu's letters reveal the kinds of negotiation occurring between builders and sponsors of these institutions.

The second part examines the writings of polymath Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536 CE), who retired to Maoshan in 492 and edited Yang Xi's revelations.⁴ In 499, Tao circulated a compendium of Yang's writings titled *Declarations of the Perfected* (*Zhen'gao* 真誥, hereafter *Declarations*) in which he writes to potential sponsors interested in building a temple at Maoshan.⁵ At the top of this list was Liang Emperor Wu 梁武帝 (Xiao Yan 蕭衍, r. 502–49 CE), who funded the construction of a three-story temple less than two years after Tao circulated *Declarations*.⁶ I study Tao's commentary on *Declarations* to demonstrate that Tao, like Yang, combined backward-looking statements about Maoshan's past with a prospectus about his future plans. Analysis of Tao's exegetical shaping of his predecessor's

² For an overview of Yang's role as advisor, see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1.107–11; Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 3–5; Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 131–36.

³ Yang Xi had a complex vocabulary when describing the temple compound, as well as to the meditation chamber. Some of the most common terms include *jingshe* 靜舍, *jingshe* 靜舍, *jingshe* 精舍, *jingshi* 靜室, and *jingshi* 靖室. For an overview of this nomenclature in Yang's revelations, see Ishii, "Shinkō ni toku," 139. Also see chapter 2 for more on the relationship between these terms and those coined by other early medieval writers.

⁴ For more on the early period of Tao's development of Maoshan, see Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* (vol. 3), 3–38; Mugitani, "Tō Kōkei nenpu kōryaku," 48–60; Strickmann, "The Alchemy," 140–43; Ishii, *Dōkyō gaku no kenkyū*, 31–40; Tuzuki, "Rikuchō kōki ni okeru," 321–25; Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 51–63; Zhong, *Tao Hongjing pingzhuan*, 87–124; Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement*, 211–13; Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety*, 121–27.

⁵ For general information on Tao's editing of *Declarations*, see Ishii, *Dōkyō gaku no kenkyū*, 123–27; Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 313–45.

⁶ It is not clear if Emperor Wu is the only potential sponsor mentioned in Tao's commentary to *Declarations*. It seems unlikely, given that Tao mentions his affiliations with opposing factions at the turn of the sixth century, most notably Xiao Yaoguang 蕭遙光 (467?–99) and Xiao Yaoxin 蕭遙欣. See appendix 2, p. 306 for more on these sponsors.

revelations further shows that he altered the original meaning of Yang's texts to forward his own agenda of building temples on behalf of aristocratic sponsors.⁷

This stereoscopic view of the written representation of Maoshan illustrates that the two writers developed different ideas about temple construction to meet the expectations of their prospective sponsors. Despite the differences between these two developments, Yang and Tao deployed analogous strategies to persuade their respective sponsors for support—they laid the past, palimpsest-like, atop their visions for future development. I argue that written texts were products of negotiation between temple developers and their sponsors. These texts could, I conclude, shape opinion about future (and, as yet, unwritten) possibilities for subsequent development. These authors' visions for temple construction illustrate a common lived practice that would have made the production of these texts intelligible to readers, sponsors, and potential clients.

(1.1) *The Promotion of Maoshan, ca. 364–70 CE*

In 363 CE, the southern aristocrat Xu Mi faced hardships on at least three fronts—his wife suddenly passed away, his grandchildren were sick, and a massive drought had rendered a farm he recently built west of Maoshan a failure.⁸ In the wake of these ominous events, Xu was having reoccurring nightmares and often fell ill. In response, he hired a spiritual advisor,

⁷ My interest in the conceptual shifts between Yang's revelations and Tao's commentary owes a great deal to recent studies on Tao's exegetical shaping of Yang's revelations. See Bokenkamp, *Ancestors*, 127–28; Chang, "Xipu, jiaofa ji qi zhenghe," 140–42; Cheng, *Jishen jixin*, 44–45.

⁸ Xu Mi, a southern aristocrat, grew up near the southern capital of Jiankang (present-day Nanjing). Xu served in both civil and military positions and was well known for the prefaces he wrote for various textual compilations. See Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 34–45; Fukui, "Jōsei kyō ni tsuite," 5; Yoshioka, *Dōkyō kyōten shiron*, 74–75; Miyakawa, *Rikuchōshi kenkyū*, 127–52; Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 6–8, 16, 36–37 and *Le Taoïsme du Mao chan*, 124–27; Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 5–6 and *Taoist Meditation*, 4; Zhong, *Changsheng busi*, 37–38; Tuzuki, "Nanjin kanmon," 45–68; Ishii, *Dōkyō gaku no kenkyū*, 124; Kominami, "Jinyaku kara zonshi e," 38–45; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 275–78 and *Ancestors*, 130–57; Eskildsen, *Asceticism*, 70; Yoshikawa, "Kyo Mai den," 5–6; Kamitsuka, *Rikuchō Dōkyō*, 149–210; Eichman, "Converging Paths," 181; Maeda, *Shoki Dōkyō*, 413–14; Zhong, *Maoshan Daojiao*, 26–31; Xiao, *Liuchao Daojiao*, 31–35; Miller, *The Way of Highest Clarity*, 13–15; Chang, "Xipu, jiaofa ji qi zhenghe," 9–112; Li, "Gu Shangqing jing," 114–46, 157–64; Cheng, *Jishen jixin*, 89–109.

Yang Xi, who claimed to contact the Perfected, the gods living in a vast underground city beneath Maoshan.⁹ Within two years of his hiring Yang convinced his sponsor to commence a building project on the northwestern face of Maoshan. Yang represented these new buildings as home to a host of ritual activities—alchemy, meditation, the creation of talismans, revelation—and claimed that Xu and select members of his family would consequently attain a postmortem existence as high Daoist gods.

As our understanding of Yang's ritual regimen has increased in recent years, so too have the names by which scholars refer to this burgeoning institution, a place Yang usually calls *jingshe* 靜舍. Translators have chosen a wide range of English names for the compound such as hermitage, oratory, chapel, monastery, cloister and even simply *jingshe*. All of the English translations of *jingshe* illustrate one of the two “sinological maladies,” a phenomenon Edward Schafer coined when describing common blunders made in the translation of place names and official titles. Transliterating Yang's compound with the pinyin *jingshe* is what Schafer calls “non-translation.” When using this strategy, translators neglect to provide the reader with the possible connotations that such a name might have for the Chinese reader.¹⁰ The other English translations of *jingshe*—hermitage, oratory, and so on—fall within what Schafer calls “functional translation.” These translations are interpretative glosses that capture the denotative sense of a word but simultaneously obscure its connotative meaning(s).

Schafer's cure for these two “sinological maladies” is to choose translations that enable a reader to access the various degrees of connotative power found in the original text. By rendering *jingshe* as “quiescent dwelling,” for example, a translator enables English

⁹ Yang calls this underground world the Floriate Solarity Grotto-Heaven (*Huayang dongtian* 華陽洞天). See Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, 5–6; Miura, “Dōten fukuchi shōkō,” 4–5; Bokenkamp, “The Peach Flower Font,” 65–66; Verellen, “The Beyond Within,” 272–75.

¹⁰ As a result, “non-translation” of Chinese phrases destroys the potential literary merit of the English text. Rather than “Gate of Responsiveness to Heaven” (*Yingtian men* 應天門), for example, translators who use this technique might simply call it “Yingtian Gate.” Also see Schafer's examples of using “non-translation” to translate passages from the Bible that turn powerful English names (e.g., “Most High,” “Grace”) into drab and unknowable names. See his “Non-Translation and Functional Translation,” 252.

readers to appreciate the possible conceptions available to the reader of the original text. But as Schafer notes, the task to understand the deep connotative layers does not end with choosing a translation. Within Yang Xi's writings, for example, we find the author uses quiescent dwelling to refer to two different, but related ideas: this word denotes the entire compound of Yang's Maoshan residence, as well as the meditation chamber built for Yang and his initiates. Second, while Yang most commonly writes quiescent dwelling when describing his Maoshan residence, this word is one of nearly a dozen different terms denoting the Maoshan compound and meditation chamber.

The first part of this chapter analyzes Yang Xi's prospectus for his quiescent dwelling to gain a deeper understanding of the connotative layers of his Maoshan temple. I focus on the rhetorical tactics Yang deployed to persuade Xu Mi that the building a permanent compound was a necessary part of initiation into the ranks of Perfected. Bracketing questions of whether Yang's claims were sincere or consciously fraudulent, I argue that these texts are useful analytical tools for studying the negotiation between the human participants of this exchange, Yang and Xu.

(1.1.1) *Yang Xi's Appraisal of Maoshan's Past*

Much of Yang's representation of his quiescent dwelling occurs in revelations where he describes places where ancient adepts concocted elixirs or grew medicinal herbs. Of all the past residents of Maoshan, Yang stressed the significance of mountain's present chief deity, Mao Ying 茅盈.¹¹ In a revelation dated to the summer of 364 Yang identifies Mao's former

¹¹ Yang typically calls Mao Ying the lord who directs destinies (*siming jun* 司命君). These revelations concerning Mao Ying's Han dynasty compound were disclosed personally not by Mao Ying but rather by Mao's two younger brothers, Mao Gu 茅固 and Mao Zhong 茅衷, the former usually referred to as the lord who determines the registers (*dinglu jun* 定錄君) and the latter called the lord who protects lifespans (*baoming jun* 保命君). For more on the lore associated with the Mao brothers, see Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*,

residence southwest of Liangchang Peak 良常山 (MAP 4, E-3) as a perfect place for Xu to concoct alchemical elixirs.¹²

The southwest side of Liangchang Peak is a suitable place to reside. This is where the director of destinies [Mao Ying] formerly built his separate residence. You can compound elixirs here as well.¹³

良常山西南垂有可住處。是司命往時別宅處也。亦可合丹。

Mao Ying's residence was likely the first location Yang proposed for the construction of Xu's compound. In one of his letters, Xu Mi writes that he was aware that Mao Ying had lived at Maoshan, but was unsure of the exact location of his house.¹⁴ Xu expresses his hope that a continued correspondence between Yang and Maoshan's gods would enable his advisor to procure the exact coordinates from his divine informants.

You revealed that "there is a habitable location on the southwest side of Liangchang [Peak] where the director of destinies [kept his] separate residence and compounded elixirs." I have seen the records in [Mao's] hagiography [concerning Liangchang], and was awed and humbled.¹⁵ I want to search for the ancient buildings that served as the high perch on which [Mao] roosted, but I am sorry that I still do not know [its location]. I have currently sought out the place according to my understanding, but I hope that when the time comes you will reveal it to me.¹⁶

告「良常西南垂有可住處，是司命君往時別宅，亦可合丹。」穆自見傳記，鄙心竊志。欲尋司命君往昔之舊宇，高棲之所托，患未能審知耳。今輒當隱量求處，臨時告悟。

Elsewhere in the revelations of 364, Yang Xi proposes constructing Xu's temple at alternative locations associated with Mao Ying. Yang writes that Mao Ying once stored a

2.389–98; Schafer, *Mao Shan in Tang Times*, 3; Campany, *To Live*, 326–28, 507–08; Cahill, *Transcendence*, 183–89; Chang, "Xipu," 90–93, 116–18.

¹² See MAP 4, G-1; MAP 5, A-6. In his commentary, Tao calls this place Xiabo 下薄.

¹³ DZ 1016, 11.13b [SKKK, 420].

¹⁴ It is unclear from Xu's letter whether he had read Mao Ying's hagiography prior to hiring Yang or after. A version of Mao's hagiography is attributed to Ge Hong's *Shenxian zhuan*, which was compiled many decades prior to Xu's letter.

¹⁵ Presumably, Xu refers to the jade nectar (*yujiang* 玉漿) and cavern grasses (*dongcao* 洞草) discovered in the caves of Liangchang. This information is detailed in Mao Ying's hagiography as it appears in the early eleventh-century CE *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [Seven lots from the bookbag of the clouds]. See DZ 1032, 104.17a [YJQQ, 2260]. In *Declarations*, Yang discloses that Liangchang was a site capable of producing fantastic botanical specimens like the glowing fire fungus (*yinghuo zhi* 熒火芝), a foxfire growing in the shape of beans and producing purple blossoms. DZ 1016, 13.8a [SKKK, 478].

¹⁶ DZ 1016, 11.18b–19a [SKKK, 431].

large cache of cinnabar at Dark Ridge (*Xuanling* 玄嶺; MAP 6, D-1, E-2). Since these mineral deposits bled into the waters flowing past this site, this location would enhance the quality of Xu's future elixirs. Subsequently, writes Yang, this would be a perfect place for Xu's hermitage:

On Middle Mao Peak is a lofty spot called Dark Ridge. This mountain is where the director of destinies once buried six thousand *jin* of cinnabar powder [mined at] the Jade Gate of the Western Barbarians. He buried this [cache] two *zhang* underground and covered it on all sides with small boulders. There are springs of reddish water with high medicinal value flowing on the eastern and western sides of the peak. Further down on both sides of the peak are small glades that would make an excellent location for a quiescent dwelling.¹⁷

中茅山玄嶺獨高處。司命君埋西胡玉門丹砂六千斤於此山。深二丈許，埒上四面有小盤石鎮其上。其山左右當泉水下流，水皆小赤色，飲之益人。此山下左右亦有小平處，可堪靜舍。

By linking favorable locations for Xu's compound to sites established by past adepts, Yang implies that Xu's building project would benefit from proximity to these ancient sites. Yang rarely offers any physical evidence that previous residents actually built at these sites; he identifies only one structure once housing the alchemical endeavors of Maoshan's past adepts. At Leiping Peak 雷平山, near the eventual site of Xu's hermitage, Yang locates a site once housing an adept of the Qin dynasty, Li Ming 李明.

To the northeast of Leiping Peak is what people call Daheng Peak, but its real name is Yugang Peak. The *Mingshan ji* [Record of famous mountains] says that it is "that which is called Gangshan." At its base is a font where Li Ming made divine elixirs and ascended into Xuanzhou in antiquity.¹⁸ The site is still [visible] on the riverbank.¹⁹

¹⁷ DZ 1016, 11.9b–10a [SKKK, 415–16]. According to a different revelation, Yang claims that Zuo used this cinnabar to concoct a Nine-Flower Elixir (*jiuhua dan* 九華丹). In his commentary, Tao notes that Zuo crossed the Yangzi into the mountains during the *jian'an* reign (196–220 CE), at which time he beseeched the gods for cinnabar powder. See DZ 1016, 12.3a [SKKK, 438–39].

¹⁸ Xuanzhou 玄洲 ("Mysterious Continent") is a mythical land far to the north of China. Many transcendent officials were thought to reside there, and there was an abundance of fungi and jade with which adepts could preserve their bodies. See Smith, "Record of the Ten Continents," 92.

¹⁹ DZ 1016, 13.16b–17b [SKKK, 498].

雷平山之東北有山，俗人呼為大橫山，其實名鬱岡山也。《名山記》云：「所謂岡山者也。」下有泉水，昔李明於此下合神丹而升玄洲。水邊今猶有處所。

Even in the case of Li Ming's old residence, Yang says only that the site (*chusuo* 處所) still exists; there is no discernable architecture present on the site. A majority of the ancient sacred compounds Yang identifies at Maoshan possess no visible signs and no traces of foundations. By representing potential sites by where they were *likely* located, Yang develops considerable leeway in correlating the revelations with actual sites on the mountain. Eventually, Xu Mi decided to build a compound northwest of Leiping Peak in the summer of 366.²⁰ Yang continued disclosing revelations about the historical residents after construction commenced. But whereas earlier revelations focused on the alchemical endeavors of past adepts at Maoshan, Yang's revelations concerning the new Leiping compound focused on the past agricultural activity. Yang writes vignettes of historical persons who once used Leiping Peak for its superior water and crop production.²¹ In the following revelation, Yang describes fonts running on the eastern side of the "rooms of [Xu's] residence" (*wuzhai* 屋宅).

If you stand on the eastern side of the rooms of the residence senior administrator Xu has built, you will see a small mountain; it is called Leiping Peak. In the Zhou dynasty, there was a man surnamed Lei who came here to raise dragons. In later times, Jiang Shumao and Old Man Tian also lived here. On the northern side of the mountain are gushing springs of Willow Vale. And this is why some call it the Fonts of Tiangong because the people once living here drew water from this source.²²

許長史今所營屋宅，對東面有小山；名雷平山。周時有雷氏養龍。來在此山，後有姜叔茂田翁亦居焉。其山北有柳汧水。或名曰田公泉。以其人曾居此山，取此水故也。

²⁰ DZ 1016, 19.10a [SKKK, 683]. No physical remains from this structure exist, but the temple should have been built near the northwest corner of the present-day Red Flag Reservoir. See MAP 5, D-3.

²¹ For more on the representation of "historic vegetation" of early medieval religions, see the story of the palm tree at Songshan 嵩山 that is called the *siwei shu* 思惟樹 ("deliberation tree"). A holy master brought seedlings of the tree from a distant land in the Han dynasty. By Xu's day, the palm tree was a well-known destination for pilgrims. See the quote extracted from *Songshan ji* 嵩山記 in the *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (*Sibu beiyao*), 10.27a. Another version of the story in the *Shuyi ji* 述異記 (SKQS), 2.20b–21a, specified that the palm tree was considered miraculous because it bloomed three times a year.

²² DZ 1016, 13.16b–17a [SKKK, 497].

Yang writes that the fonts running near Leiping Peak flowed from the same water source utilized centuries earlier by previous developers. Yang stresses the close proximity of the compound to water, a topographical feature that likely would have been of great interest to Xu. Prior to hiring Yang Xi as his spiritual advisor, Xu funded the development of an agricultural venture at the terraced fields of Red Rock (Chishi 赤石), roughly five kilometers west of Middle Mao Peak. But Xu's reservoir at Red Rock dried completely during the drought of 363, and by early the next year Xu was perplexed about whether he should continue his failing venture at Red Rock or try his fortunes elsewhere.²³

Given Xu's recent failures at Red Rock, it is possible that Yang revealed details about the water supply of Leiping Peak in an effort to persuade his sponsor of the viability of developing at Leiping in contrast to Red Rock. Yang claimed, for instance, that one of the mounds near Xu's compound was an ancient dam embankment built by Guo Sichao 郭四朝 (fl. third century BCE?). This revelation likely piqued the interest of a sponsor who had only two years earlier failed in his attempt to harness the power of Maoshan's waters.

On the southern [*lit.* front] side of the dwelling there is a reservoir built by Guo Sichao. The embankment of this dam is extremely high and must have [retained] a very deep [body of] water. Many generations have passed since Guo and the retaining wall has since crumbled.²⁴

今舍前有塘，乃郭四朝所造也，高其牆岸，蓋水得深。但歷代久遠，塘牆頽下耳。

Yang also writes that the ancient residents of Leiping diverted the abundance of water to plant various crops on the lands now surrounding Xu's temple. Yang describes the fields near

²³ Xu wrote a letter on the first day of the third month (April 18, 364) in which he informed the Perfected that he was cultivating the fields of Red Rock (Chishi) to serve as his stopping point between Jurong and Maoshan. Yang quotes this letter in a revelation written in late 364 or early 365, in which he criticizes Xu for not materializing the Red Rock plan. *DZ* 1016, 11.16a [*SKKK*, 422]. For more on this early exchange, see Chang, "Xipu," 96–98.

²⁴ *DZ* 1016, 13.9b [*SKKK*, 479–80]. Tao notes in his commentary to this passage that there was indeed a reservoir on the western side of the site of Xu Mi's residence capturing spring water. The association of this site with Guo Sichao, however, confused Tao since Guo presumably lived at a place on the north face of Maoshan, a site which incidentally contained a reservoir. This reservoir, as well as later legends associated with it, are described in *DZ* 304, 7.4a–b [*ZHDZ*, 48.409a]. Also see Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, 35.

Leiping Peak, Guoqian 郭千, as an area first developed by Guo Sichao when he ordered servants (*shiren* 使人) to reclaim this former swampland. The fruits grown at this site, stresses Yang, were highly sought after for their medicinal properties, especially a strain of apples thought to ward off disease.

In later times Guo Sichao also lived here and planted five kinds of fruits. Further, this place is suitable for growing apples. “*Fuxiang* apples,” as they are known, can ward off calamities.²⁵

後有郭四朝，又於其處種五果。又此地可種柰。所謂福鄉之柰，以除厲。

Yang develops a lineage of ancient farmers stretching back nearly three millennia.²⁶

In Yang’s revelations, one of the most significant farmers was the Qin dynasty holy master (*daoshi*) Zhou Taibin 周太賓, who was employed by the marquis of Baling 巴陵, Jiang Shumao 姜叔茂, to establish a settlement at Maoshan. Their development, known as Jiangba 姜巴, was home to a large farm where Zhou and Jiang planted various fruits and pungent roots.²⁷ Yang further discloses that Jiang had long before used the proceeds from growing the pungent roots to fund his alchemical experiments, and that the offspring of these plants were still growing near Xu’s new temple.

[Jiang] Shumao planted five pungent vegetables, and took them to market to sell. He used the money to buy cinnabar and ate it. There are chives and shallots all over the mountain which are volunteer plants remaining [from Jiang’s time].²⁸

叔茂種五辛菜，常賣以市丹砂而用之。今山間猶有韭薤，即其遺種邪。

²⁵ DZ 1016 13.9a [SKKK, 479].

²⁶ The most ancient farmer at Leiping was Sire Zhanshang 展上公, the current inner-right protector (*nei you sibao* 內右司保) of the Nine Palaces, who lived three millennia ago during the reign of King Gaoxin (or Diku 帝嚳, see *Shiji*, 1.11–14). Yang writes that Zhanshang grew exceptional white plums while living at Fulong 伏龍, a site near Leiping (MAP 5, D-6). DZ 1016 13.8b [SKKK, 478–79].

²⁷ DZ 1016, 13.17a [SKKK, 497]. Jiangba likely corresponds to the fields maintained along the valley connecting the present-day People’s Army Reservoir (*minbing shuiku* 民兵水庫), the body of water on the south side of Leiping Peak, and Fangyu Peak. The “five pungent roots” (*wuxin* 五辛 or *wuhui* 五葷), here called the “five pungent vegetables” (*wu xincai* 五辛菜), refer to garlic (*suan* 蒜), onions (*cong* 蔥), shallots (*xie* 薤), ferula (*xingqu* 形渠), and leeks (*jiu* 韭).

²⁸ DZ 1016, 13.9b [SKKK, 479].

It is difficult to ascertain to what degree, if any, Yang hoped his sponsor would develop the compound at Leiping in a fashion similar to the ancient residents. Since Yang correlates narratives about these ancient farmers with plants growing at Leiping Peak, it is likely that at the very least Yang hoped to persuade his sponsor about the superior medicinal properties of consuming Maoshan's produce. Even the water flowing near the compound, writes Yang, would afford similar benefits for his sponsor. The Fonts of Sire Tian, for example, would rid the body of disease and could provide the same kind of water that the gods below Maoshan drink.

Leiping Peak has waters from the fonts of Sire Tian. If you drink from it you can rid your stomach of the three worms.²⁹ Its flavor is identical to that of the fonts [used by the] invisible [spirits]. It is called the flowing ford of Jade Sands. You can use it to wash your clothes without the need of detergent, which is truly a marvel.³⁰

雷平山有田公泉水。飲之除腹中三蟲。與隱泉水同味。云是玉砂之流津也。用以浣衣，不用灰，以此為異矣。

Yang's writings about the development of Maoshan by ancient residents set a precedent for how Xu should build his hermitage. It further established a loose genealogy whereby Xu's residence was conceived as continuing the same mission begun in antiquity. Finally, since all of the ancient adepts are identified by the current high ranks among the hierarchy of gods beneath Maoshan, this connection between Xu and the ancient residents foreshadowed the conferral of a high postmortem ranks for Xu and his family. Yang frames the construction of Xu's temple not as a novel invention but rather as an activity that adepts at Maoshan had engaged in for centuries. Writing about Maoshan's historical geography, in

²⁹ Hua Qiao, the author of the *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan* 紫陽真人內傳 [The esoteric hagiography of the perfected being of purple solarity], calls the three worms Azure Elder (*qinggu* 青古), White Maid (*baigu* 白姑), and Blood House (*xiehu* 血戶). The worms disrupt an adept's bodily processes and can be eradicated early in ascetic practice through ingesting various herbal elixirs. *DZ* 303, 4a [ZHDZ, 46.191a].

³⁰ *DZ* 1016 13.8b [SKKK, 478].

other words, was a rhetorical strategy that Yang used in establishing a precedent for the kind of compound he promoted to his sponsor.

(1.1.2) *Yang Xi's Prospectus, Part One*

In the beginning of his tenure as Xu's spiritual advisor, Yang used many different locations to communicate with the Perfected in the capital (present-day Nanjing), at Xu Mi's Jurong residence (*jiashē* 家舍), and at nearby mountain lodges (*shanguan* 山館).³¹ During this period Yang writes that he asked the Perfected a series of questions about what "location" (*chū* 處) would be best suited to build Xu's temple.³² Yang even asserts that the construction of this compound was a divine injunction given by the Goddess of Yiqian 易遷. Yiqian was a place with great significance for Xu. This was the underworld palace (*gong* 宮) where Xu's recently deceased wife, Tao Kedou 陶科斗, was thought to have been stationed after her death in 364.³³ By linking the construction of the temple to the deities associated with Tao Kedou, Yang suggests that a compound on the mountain would ameliorate the fate of Xu's recently deceased relatives.

I have seen the [Goddess of] Yiqian three times. During her second [visit she] said, "You can rely on me, but you must first build rooms for a dwelling on the eastern mountain, and surround its [perimeter] with an enclosure."³⁴ I asked her the reason for this, but I have yet to receive [her]

³¹ DZ 1016, 20.12a [SKKK, 709]. Tao glosses *shanguan* as *xie* 驛 ("station house"), a term I will discuss below.

³² We know of these inquiries because of a note Yang writes to Xu concerning a failed chance to meet the Perfected Being of Guishan (*Guishan zhenren* 龜山真人) on the twenty-seventh day of the first month (February 23, 366). See DZ 1016, 4.3b [SKKK, 142]. Chang, "Xipu," 108.

³³ DZ 1016, 8.2a [SKKK, 276]. After his wife's death, Xu Mi was afflicted by a series of illnesses and nightmares. It was Yang Xi who "discovered" that Xu's decline in health was the result of a sepulchral plaint filed against his wife in the otherworld. Nickerson, "Great Petition," 236–37, 248–49; Bokenkamp, *Ancestors*, 34–38.

³⁴ In his revelations, Yang Xi often uses the term *dai* 待 ("rely; depend on") to refer to the material things an adept must rely on to achieve liberation. Yang contrasts *dai* with *wudai* 無待 ("non-reliance"), which

reply. I have asked other spirits [about this matter], and they all reply, “Is there something we [have done] that disagrees with you?” I am still not clear what all of this means but I wish very much to understand.³⁵

三見易遷。再云：「可待，要乃起東山屋舍，且可離護之耳」。問其故，未見答。問眾靈云：「我或爾耶？」未詳此意，欲識之。

Xu’s construction of a temple at Maoshan was also considered an act that would improve the lives of the living in addition to the lot of the deceased. Yang discloses that there were many places Xu could build the “rooms and chambers [of his] quiescent dwelling” (*wushi jingshe* 屋室靜舍) where there were superior mineral deposits and pristine water. These substances would contribute to the production of effective alchemical elixirs.

Because there are stones piled one atop another on a long ridge between Middle Mao and Greater Mao Peaks, [people in] ancient times called it Jijin Peak. It contains much gold and has many places suitable for living. It would be best to find a place with [running] water and build the rooms and chambers [of] your quiescent dwelling. Feel free to pick one of the many places here.³⁶

大茅山、中茅山相連長阿中有連石，古時名為積金山。此山中甚多金物，其處宜人住。可索有水處為屋室靜舍乃佳。

Water is a prevalent feature throughout Yang’s revelations concerning the construction of Xu’s temple. Yang describes a similar mineral-laden mountain at the Heavenly Market Platform (*Tianshi tan* 天市壇), the elusive spot at Maoshan where gods gathered for eight conferences each year. In this case, Yang mentions the presence of fine jade and gold buried in Maoshan and proposes that Xu could extract these minerals simply by drinking this water. The high-quality water would improve Xu’s health and increase his chances of brewing a successful elixir.

applied to Yang’s teachings are those Perfected practices leading adepts beyond concern for material concerns. See DZ 1016, 3.3a; Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1.161; Russell, “Song of the Immortals,” 350n4. The use of *dai* in this sense echoes a passage in *Zhuangzi* in the author talks about how Liezi could ride the wind for thousands of miles but nevertheless had to depend (*dai*) on something to achieve the miraculous feat. See Ware, *Sayings of Chuang Tzu*, 4. There is a variant reading for *li* as *li* 籬 in DZ 458, 1.5a [ZHDZ, 2.311b] that has caused me to translate this character as enclosure rather than “to separate oneself from.”

³⁵ DZ 1016, 6.10a–b [SKKK, 233].

³⁶ DZ 1016, 11.10a–b [SKKK, 416].

On all four sides of the Heavenly Market Platform at Maoshan are eight to nine thousand *jin* of pure gold and white jade.³⁷ They are buried about two *zhang* on the western and eastern sides nine *chi* deep . . . There is spring water to the east and west of this mountain that is filtered through the gold and jade. If you can find a relatively stable plot [of land], it would be wonderful to build your quiescent dwelling there. Drinking the water [flowing through this site] will aid you in your concentration [while] concocting elixirs.³⁸

茅山天市壇四面皆有寶金白玉各八九千斤。去壇左右二丈許，入地九尺耳.....其山左右有泉水，皆金玉之津氣。可索其有小安處為靜舍乃佳。若飲此水，甚便益人，精可合丹。

To enhance Xu's positive reaction toward building at Maoshan, Yang focuses on the benefits and advantages that Xu would procure through completing the project. In the following revelation, written at some point immediately prior to the construction at Leiping in 366, Yang asserts that the correspondence between Xu's residence and the cavernous world where the Perfected lived beneath the surface of Maoshan verifies that Xu Mi and his family were the heirs of a great legacy.

The present location that marks [your] quiescent dwelling is [at the same point as] the highest room of Golden [Platform] County. No one is allowed to live there unless they are senior administrator Xu and his family.³⁹ In later generations, a certain Chizi Xian will come live here.⁴⁰ Sons and grandsons [of Xu], please take heed to not divulge [this information].⁴¹

近所標靜舍地，此金鄉之至室，若非許長史父子，豈得居之。後世當有赤子賢者，乃得居此鄉爾。子孫事祕之，不可輕泄。

³⁷ Yang Xi explains that the name for the Heavenly Market Platform originated in that the rock that marked this spot was long ago transported from a mountain in Parthia (Anxi 安息) called the Heavenly Market Mountain. According to Yang, this stone hovered above the center of the Grotto-Heaven beneath Maoshan. See DZ 1016, 12.2b [SKKK, 437].

³⁸ DZ 1016, 11.11a–b [SKKK, 417].

³⁹ *Changshi* 長史 ("senior administrator") was a title bestowed to officials of executive status, but it was applied to various ranks, both civil and military. When the title was first adopted in the third century BCE, there was only one senior administrator who served as chief advisor to the throne. In the Han dynasty, however, two senior administrator posts were created and made subordinate to the chancellor. By Xu Mi's day, this title was given to chief officers of commanderies and principedoms. See *Shiji*, 87.2540; *HHS*, B28.3627; Rogers, *Chronicle*, 200n55; Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 122n185. Tao provides more details about the capacity Xu served during his tenure in this position in the "Xu Mi Stele." See appendix 2, p. 295.

⁴⁰ In his commentary to this passage, Tao postulates that this individual must be a direct descendent of the Xu clan or a virtuous individual who had received permission from the spirits to occupy the Leiping site. Nothing else is known about this individual.

⁴¹ DZ 1016, 13.16b [SKKK, 497].

Xu evidently appreciated Yang's idea that his family was part of a great legacy. Xu assured Yang that he was devoted to the enterprise of building a temple at Maoshan and expressed hope that, by pledging his support for the compound, Yang would procure more revelations about ancient sites at Maoshan. Through Yang's revelations, Xu saw the temple as a place that he had inherited through the grace of Maoshan's deities; this put him in an esteemed lineage of adepts imagined to have practiced on the mountain.

You revealed that in the time of Xuandi there was a bronze tripod that buried about eight *chi* underground atop Greater Mao Peak where the mountain is particularly high. This is a royal vessel [used?] by divine kings. Please reveal openly to this later adept so my reverence for you will increase manifold.⁴² I will uphold [the pledge], "A quiescent dwelling may be set up below." I am grateful as you enlighten all [I need] through revelation.⁴³

告「大茅山有玄帝時銅鼎，在山獨高處，入土八尺許。」此帝王之所.....器，疏示後生，益增稟厲。承「下亦可以立靜舍」。感備告悟。

(1.1.3) *Yang Xi's Chamber*

Yang's only extant writings explicitly describing the architecture of Xu's compound concern a small chamber, *jìngshì* 靜室 ("quiescent chamber"), where adepts communicated with deities via meditation exercises. In this section, I briefly pause my analysis of Yang's prospectus to situate his representation of this chamber in the wider context of early Daoist architecture. This digression offers us the best opportunity we have to explore in detail the interplay between form and function in temple structures at this period of Maoshan's development. Furthermore, this detour underscores that while Yang projected temple construction as a future project, the blueprint for his architecture was imagined as modeled on

⁴² The word *bing* 稟 could mean "inheritance" or "granaries," but I think it likely used in a Wu-Yue dialect as noted by Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) in his *Fangyan* 方言 [Regional speech]. See *Fangyan jiaojian*, 6.42. Here it describes the simultaneous fear and respect one feels when in the presence of a god; I have translated *bing* as "reverence" (cf. *lin* 懍).

⁴³ DZ 1016, 11.19b [SKKK, 431].

an ancient design. Yang, in other words, promoted a kind of temple architecture that participants viewed as originating in the Daoist compounds built centuries earlier.

Much of what we know about the appearance of Yang's chamber comes from a description circulating among the Xu family during Yang's tenure as spiritual advisor. Yang describes this building as a small, rectangular structure that adepts entered via a door in its southeastern corner. The structure was completely lightproof except for a small window cut out of the southern wall. Adepts were to build a small platform in the middle of the chamber so that they would be sitting at eye level with the south-facing window.

That which [we] call a “quiescent chamber” is elsewhere called a “grass hut,” a “Fangliu room,” or a “ringed enclosure.”⁴⁴ The method by which one constructs this room [is as follows]: Use four columns, three purlins, and two beams. Make sure to use the same wood for all the construction materials. The room is one *zhang* and nine *chi* in length from east to west, one *zhang* and two *chi* broad [i.e., from north to south end], and the roofline will extend [beyond the room] three *chi* in each direction. The eaves in back will extend three *chi* and five *cun*, and the front eaves in the south wall extend three *chi*. The ridgepoles will be nine *chi* and six *cun* above ground, the two purlins on both sides will rise seven *chi* and two *cun* aboveground. The door should be placed in the southeast corner and should be six *chi* and five *cun* high, two *chi* and four *cun* wide. When fashioning the doorway, leave no spaces between the lintel and the door so there will be no cracks. Make a window on the southern wall. Its name is “Penetrating Radiance,” and should be one *chi* and seven *cun* long and one *chi* and five *cun* high. When sitting in the center of the room, your eyes should line your eyebrows [with the window]. So [build] a platform in the middle [of the chamber] one *chi* and two *cun* high, nine *chi* and six *cun* long, and six *chi* and five *cun* wide to serve as a place to practice all year round.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ A *huandu* 環堵 (“ringed enclosure”) refers to a small shanty in which adepts meditated. Enclosure (*du*) is a term that refers to both the length and height of a wall. See *WXL*, 186.94 for more on the various sizes of walls to which this term may refer. The *locus classicus* for *huandu* is in story featured in the *Zhuangzi*. See chapter 2, pp. 69–70.

⁴⁵ *DZ 1016*, 18.6b–7a [*SKKK*, 649]. Later in this passage the author commands adepts to change their position on this platform daily to accord with a star called the “month builder” (*yuejian* 月建), also known as *sheti* 攝提, a constellation that is visible all year round and circles the Big Dipper. According to a quote from Cui Hao's 崔浩 (d. 450) *Hanshu yinyi* 漢書音義 [Glosses on the *Hanshu*] included in Pei Songzhi's *Shiji jijie* 史記集解 [Collected commentaries on the *Shiji*], *sheti* attracted the attention of astronomers because at the beginning of every lunar month its relative position determined when intercalary months would be needed to correct the calendar. Sima Zhen 司馬真 (fl. 730s) identifies three stars in this constellation in his *Shiji suoyin* 史記索隱 [Index to the *Shiji*], and quotes an astronomical treatise in which “month builder” is used in association with *sheti*. Both quotes are found in *Shiji*, 26.1257; *SKKK*, 650n2.

所謂靜室者，一曰茅屋，二曰方溜室，三曰環堵。制屋之法：用四柱三桁二梁。取同種材。屋東西首長一丈九尺，成中一丈二尺，二頭各餘三尺。後溜餘三尺五寸，前南溜餘三尺。棟去地九尺六寸，二邊桁去地七尺二寸。東南開戶，高六尺五寸，廣二尺四寸。用材為戶扇，務令茂密，無使有隙。南面開牖，名曰通光，長一尺七寸，高一尺五寸。在室中坐，令平眉。中有板床，高一尺二寸，長九尺六寸，廣六尺五寸，薦席隨時寒暑。

In his commentary on this passage, Tao claims that this blueprint closely resembles the meditation chamber recorded in the *Daoji jing* 道機經 [Scripture of the Dao's pivot], a text that had circulated many decades prior to Yang's revelations.⁴⁶ Yang conceived of his chamber as a site that priests could use to absolve the afflictions (*yanghuan* 殃患) of recently deceased ancestors, a feature that Yang depicts as continuing the rituals of Celestial Masters parishes (*zhi* 治). While Yang's text about the Celestial Masters ritual conducted in a ritual chamber is the earliest such description extant, Yang's representation of this building as an ancient place is corroborated in other extant texts. As early as the late second century, for example, Zhang Heng 張衡 instructed his disciples in present-day Sichuan to use these private chambers as places to contemplate their faults (*siguo* 思過) as acts of contrition. The third-century historian Yu Huan 魚豢 writes that Zhang ordered the construction of oratories for his Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (*Wudoumi dao* 五斗米道) as early as 180 CE. Yu underscores that the presence of these chambers was a central feature distinguishing the Five Pecks of Rice community from the contemporary Way of Great Peace (*Taiping dao* 太平道) led by Zhang Jue 張角 in eastern China.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The early fourth-century writer Ge Hong mentioned that, by his day, this scripture had been in circulation for many decades. For a translation of this passage, see pp. 32–33 below. Without an extant copy of the *Daoji jing*, we cannot compare the two blueprints.

⁴⁷ The received version of Yu Huan's text states that this person name was Zhang Xiu 張脩, but I have adopted Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 (372–451 CE) correction on the basis that Pei had access to separately transmitted *Dianlue* and his identification of Zhang Xiu as a scribal error is the correct one. Yu Huan was a *langzhong* 郎中 ("palace gentleman") in the mid-third century during the Wei dynasty. He composed various treatises on geography and political administration. Pelliot, "Review of *Les pays d'Occident*," 362–64; Hill, *The Peoples of the West*.

The masters of the Way of Great Peace use a staff with nine nodes to make incantations and talismans. They taught those who were sick to bow their heads and contemplate their misdeeds. They caused them to drink talisman water [to absolve their misdeeds]. Those who were sick were healed day by day were considered to have kept faith with the Dao, while those who remained sick were cast out as not placing their faith in this Dao. [Zhang] Heng's method was similar to Jue's method, but he incorporated a quiescent chamber where the sick could sit and contemplate their misdeeds.⁴⁸

太平道者，師持九節杖為符祝。教病人叩頭思過。因以符水飲之。得病或日淺而愈者，則云此人信道，其或不愈，則為不信道。衡法略與角同，加施靜室，使病者處其中思過。

While Yang may have been the first to introduce Xu Mi to Celestial Masters rites, it was likely that he was one of many spiritual advisors utilizing this kind of chamber in southern China.⁴⁹ In the late third-century “Jiangbiao zhuan” 江表傳 [Traditions of Jiangbiao], Yu Pu 虞溥 (ca. 249–310 CE) writes about the early third-century Yu Ji 于吉, a healer from the northeastern seaboard who arrived at the kingdom of Wu in southeast China.⁵⁰ Yu Ji built a therapeutic center where patients came to seek healing for illnesses.

At that time there was a Daoist master named Yu Ji from Langye who first resided in the east prior to moving [south] to Wu. He established a quiescent dwelling where he burned incense and read Daoist texts. He concocted talisman water to cure illnesses and many of the people of Wu served him.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Yu Huan goes on to describe how sick people could also request the clergy of Zhang Heng's community known as *guizu* 鬼卒 (“demon troopers”) to perform a site where the sick person's name was written in triplicate to the gods of mountains, earth, and water. Apparently, this rite, unlike its indoor counterpart, required travel to submit the supplication (*qingdao* 請禱) in various locales. Clergy were paid five pecks of rice if their efforts were successful—hence the name of the community. *Sanguo zhi*, 8.263; Yoshikawa, “Seishitsu,” 126; Hendrichske, *The Scripture on Great Peace*, 26–27; Eichhorn, “Description of the Rebellion,” 328–29.

⁴⁹ There is a close resemblance between Yang's chamber to the “quiescent places” (*jingchu* 靜處), “shrouded chambers” (*youshi* 幽室), and “thatched chamber” (*maoshi* 茆室) described of the *Taiping jing* 太平經 [Scripture of great peace] (DZ 1101). By the end of the early medieval era, the petitioning rites developed for Celestial Masters rites were exclusively conducted in chambers. For more on the adaptation of these rooms for later Celestial Masters rites, see Maruyama, *Dōkyō girei monjo*, 146, 214–16.

⁵⁰ This text no longer survives in full but is quoted in in Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 (372–451 CE) commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志. For more on Yu Pu's output as a historian, see Geng, “Wei Jin Nanbeichao,” 76. Jiangbiao 江表 is a synonym for the Jiangzuo 江左 or Jiangnan 江南 regions, the lower Yangzi delta. *DKW*, 6.930a.

⁵¹ *Sanguo zhi*, 46.1110n1.

時有道士琅邪于吉，先寓居東方，往來吳會。立精舍，燒香讀道書。
。制作符水以治病，吳會人多事之。

It is unclear what kind of physical compound Yu Ji's "quiescent dwelling" denoted. It is also difficult from this passage to tell if Yu Ji's compound was located within an urban or a mountain setting. Other writers of this era represent ritual chambers as located in remote, secluded places in which adepts practiced arts beyond the view of onlookers. In his early fourth-century *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 [Master who embraces simplicity], for instance, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 CE) writes that a mountainous setting for an adept's compound is necessary to concoct the elixir golden liquor (*jinyi* 金液).

[This method (*dao* 道)] is of utmost importance, and appears but once every hundred years. Store [the text] in a stone chamber, and compound [the elixir] after abstaining from contacts with people and observing ritual fasts for one hundred days. You should build a quiescent dwelling on a slope of a famous mountain where a stream flows east. After a hundred days it will be ready, and after taking an ounce you will become a transcendent.⁵²

此道至重，百世一出。藏之石室，合之，皆齋戒百日，不得與俗人相往來。於名山之側，東流水上，別立精舍。百日成，服一兩便仙。

Unlike Yang, Ge Hong was not likely an advocate of conducting rituals in meditation chambers. Ge expresses his frustration with people viewing the construction of a compound as the most significant aspect of devotional practice. Ge claimed that adepts of his day "entered chambers" (*rushi* 入室) in order to produce elixirs. And according to Ge, a majority of adepts built chambers with blueprints as described in the *Daoji jing*, the same text that Tao identified as the source for the Maoshan blueprint.

In this age we know about the circulation of *qi*, the abstention of grains, and the consumption of herbal drugs through the aid of technical manuals. Most of these books contain similar texts. Not one of these people does not own a copy of the *Daoji jing*, [yet] they consider [its rituals] to be highly esoteric . . . If an adept wishes to enter into a room to seek

⁵² *Baopuzi neipian*, 4.82–83. I have consulted the translation in Ware, *Alchemy*, 89–90.

transcendence by circulating their *qi* and setting in motion the pivot of the Dao, they should know it is a grave error to say that the Dao stops there.⁵³

時有知行氣及斷穀服諸草木藥法，所有方書。略為同文。無一人不有道機經，唯以此為至秘……正欲以行氣入室求仙，作此道機，謂道畢於此，此復是誤人之甚者也。

It is likely that such indoor rituals, recorded decades earlier, were a familiar form of practice for Xu Mi prior to Yang's hiring in 364. Xu's previous spiritual advisor, Hua Qiao 華僑 (d. 363 CE?) featured a secluded chamber as a place for adepts just starting their spiritual exercises.⁵⁴ Hua at least used this kind of room for ritual protection from malevolent deities. After Hua was inducted into Xu's parish, he secured the support of two divine beings, Zhou Yishan 周義山 (b. 80 BCE) and Pei Xuanren 裴玄仁 (b. 60 CE).⁵⁵ These gods would periodically visit Hua Qiao in his chamber; only Hua could see them.

[Hua] Qiao feared there was no escape from this demonic torment. He thereupon turned from the profane [spirits] and turned to the Dao. [Hua] called upon the libationer in the Danyang parish of Xu [Mi] and underwent Daoist initiation rituals. The horde of demons disappeared never to return again. Many years after his initial initiation [Hua] suddenly dreamt of two men roughly fifty years old dressed in extraordinary ceremonial garb. These two then reappeared [to Hua] on the thirtieth day of the first month. They returned many times thereafter at the silent chamber of Hua's residence, but only Hua could see them. One was named Zhou [Yishan] and the other Pei [Xuanren].⁵⁶

僑自懼必為諸鬼所困，於是背俗入道，詣祭酒丹陽許治，受奉道之法。羣鬼各便消散，不復來往。奉道數年，忽夢見二人，年可五十，容儀

⁵³ *Baopuzi neipian*, 4.70; translation adapted from Ware, *Alchemy*, 68–69.

⁵⁴ In his *Ziyang zhenren neizhuan*, Hua Qiao writes that Zhou Yishan, now a perfected deity, began his ascent to godhood after inviting an eccentric peddler to his residence. In the privacy of his ritual chamber, Zhou discovers that the peddler was really a transcendent in disguise and learned the Method of Guarding the Trinity (*shou sanyi fa* 守三一法). *DZ* 303, 7a [*ZHDZ*, 46.192b].

⁵⁵ The dates for Pei Xuanren are difficult to ascertain. The author of the *Yunji qiqian* (*DZ* 1032, 105.1a [*YJQQ*, 2263]) claims that Pei was born in the second year of Han Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 (Liu Heng 劉恒, r. 179–157 BCE), but does not specify whether the second year falls in the first or second reign of the emperor's rule. The author of the *Lishi zhenxian tidao tongjian* 歷世真仙體道通鑑 (*DZ* 296, 15.1a [*ZHDZ*, 47.319c]) listed Pei's birth as the second year of Han Emperor Ming. I have opted for this later date, given that Pei's hagiography begins with a trip to a Buddhist monastery, a place unlikely to have existed in China during the second century BCE. Since there is no corroborating evidence surviving any historical person called Pei Xuanren, both dates are speculative.

⁵⁶ *DZ* 303, 18a–b [*ZHDZ*, 46.196b]. I have benefited from translations of this passage in Porkert, *Biographie*, 22–23; Miller, *The Way*, 107–08.

衣服非常。後遂二人見，或一月三十日，時時往來僑家靖室中。唯僑得見。一人姓周，一人姓裴。

Judging from Xu's letters we know that his use of secluded chambers did not wane after he fired Hua Qiao. In a letter written in 364, Xu describes how in the days before meeting Yang he was practicing in the chamber of the Zhu family. This passage also indicates that Xu used such rooms as a place to store his correspondence with Yang, which suggests a chamber could function as a kind of makeshift scriptorium.

Last year, when I first presented my letter on the eighth day of the eighth month [September 20, 364], I had prepared myself for my trip to the home of Xu Fan at Shuxu.⁵⁷ It was then that a messenger delivered a letter from my some stating "I have received a response from [the Perfected] that you should not ascend the mountain." As a result, I followed this advice and returned home. I ordered that this letter be kept in the quiescent [chamber] of the Zhu family.⁵⁸

昔初拜八月八日書，已操身至述虛徐汎家，尋家信見報云：「得應言未可登山。」便承此而歸。直致此書於朱家靜中耳。

In one sense, Yang distinguished his use of ritual chambers not so much by new architectural design but by a different liturgical framework. Yang writes that his method is based on the ancient Celestial Masters ritual *Rujing fa* 入靜法 [Methods for entering tranquility]. In this ritual, adepts enter rooms and draw energy from the sun or moon to send out the gods of an adept's body, the five numinous elder lords (*wuling laojun* 五靈老君), to communicate with celestial beings.⁵⁹

When you first enter the "quiescent door" you should focus your gaze on the censer and recite the following incantation silently: "May the five numinous and elder lords of the Mysterious Prime Most High beckon my officers, the dragon and tiger lords of the left and right, as well as my messengers who hold the incense, the upright spirits of the three *qi*, to ascend forthright to the Lord of the Dao of the three heavens and

⁵⁷ In his commentary to this passage, Tao writes that Xu Fan's house still existed at the turn of the sixth century. Tao further states that Xu Ou, the person who revealed the location of Xu Mi's compound to Tao, was the great-grandson of Xu Fan.

⁵⁸ *DZ* 1016, 11.19b–20a [SKKK, 432].

⁵⁹ This text is preserved in Tao's *Dengzhen yin jue* 登真隱訣 [The esoteric instructions for ascent to perfection]. These lords not only were imagined as serving an adept as a cosmic messenger but were also wise figures who dispelled demonic forces. See Cedzich, "The Organon of the Twelve Hundred Officials," 7.

mysterious prime most high and make the following announcement. ‘[So-and-so] has just lit incense and entered into meditation to have an audience with the spirits. [He] asks that the true *qi* of the eight directions enter into [his] body, and that what he reports quickly be made known before the Thearch.’” Once you have finished this you should light incense and carry out [the rest of] the ritual.⁶⁰

初入靜戶之時，當目視香爐，而先心祝曰：「太上玄元五靈老君，當召功曹使者、左右龍虎君、捧香使者、三炁正神，急上關啟三天太上玄元道君。某正爾燒香，入靜朝神，乞得八方正氣來入某身，所啟速聞徑達帝前。」畢，乃燒香行事。

(1.1.4) *Yang Xi's Prospectus, Part Two*

Yang also proposed that Xu Mi build not just one but at least two sites at Maoshan. In 364, Yang spoke to Xu about the possibility of constructing an outer quiescent dwelling (*wai jingshe* 外靜舍).⁶¹ Yang writes that on the southeastern side of Liangchang there was a second site with a rock enclosure shaped like an alchemical furnace. Surrounding the rocks was grove of trees with parasitic growth, giving the impression that the canopy was a lid atop a furnace.⁶² This site would make construction complicated since some of the surrounding cliffs (*xiaoe* 小危) were prone to landslides and a rapid river (*jian* 淺) flowed nearby. Nevertheless, Yang proposed that the site would still make a good quality outer compound.⁶³ Xu responded by expressing a strong interest in drawing up plans for an outer venue, as well as the inner (*nei*) temple compound.

⁶⁰ DZ 421, 3.6b–7b [ZHDZ, 2.260a–c].

⁶¹ I have been unable to locate any other text written in this era featuring a term like “outer quiescent dwelling.” The most similar term I have found is in the *Foshuo bojing chao* 佛說孛經抄 [Excerpts from the *bo-jataka* scripture as spoken by the Buddha] where Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222–53) describes a ruler who once traveled to a “concentrative dwelling near the outside walls of the capital” (*jingshe jinzai chengwai* 精舍近在城外) to participate in a purification ritual at his compound (T 790, 17.730a).

⁶² The trees with parasitic growth (*jishengshu* 寄生樹) could refer to either an epiphyte, like the ferns growing on willow trees, or to a parasite like *niao* 蔦 (“mistletoe”) or *nüluo* 女蘿 (“dodder”) growing in treetops. See Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 162–63, 247–48. Since Yang stresses the appearance of the canopies of these trees, it is likely he is describing parasitic plants.

⁶³ DZ 1016, 11.14a [SKKK, 420].

I would like to search for the place [with rocks like a furnace] someday. You also revealed that “There is a place northwest of the cave entrance whose foundation is not very stable but can be used for an outer quiescent dwelling.” Since I have aspirations to build both an inner (*nei*) and an outer quiescent dwelling, it will be best to consider [these sites].⁶⁴

往當尋其所。告「洞口西北有一地，地小危不安，可立外靜舍。」愚意本自欲立內外靜舍，輒當疇量在宜。

Yang’s extant writings do not clearly indicate what architectural features, if any, distinguished an outer temple from its inner counterpart. Yang does indicate that there were guests who would frequent Xu’s compound. There was, for instance, a group of wandering ascetics led by Chen Shijing 陳世京, who Yang writes had “frequented the rooms of the senior administrator’s dwelling many times” (*shu zhi changshi shewu jian youxi* 數至長史舍屋間遊戲).⁶⁵ In his commentary to the passage, however, Tao Hongjing arrives at a much different conclusion: he surmises that the “outer quiescent dwelling” was a place used for guests and other visitors who were curious about the Perfected arts.

The outer quiescent dwelling is a place to receive visitors who come to rest and is not intended as a place for one’s own ritual practice. [The visitors] wished to be close [to the adepts] to learn more [about their practice].⁶⁶

外靜舍當以俟游賓從憩止，非自往修行之所。益知是欲相近之意也。

By Tao’s interpretation, the “outer quiescent dwelling” was a place where Xu’s associates stayed at Maoshan without the pressures of adepts, who worked assiduously to maintain the ritual and economic viability of the temple. While Yang’s revelation does not specify what Chen and his disciples did in the rooms of Xu’s hermitage, the passage does lend credence to Tao’s theory that entertaining non-initiated guests was a part of life at Xu’s compound.

⁶⁴ DZ 1016, 11.19a [SKKK, 431].

⁶⁵ DZ 1016, 13.14b [SKKK, 492]. Earlier in the passage Yang describes Chen as a former sponsor of Buddhist temples who moved to Maoshan alongside his master, Du Qie 杜契, and Du’s other disciple, Sun Ben’s 孫賁 (d. 219 CE) granddaughter Hanhua 寒華. DZ 1016, 13.13b [SKKK, 491].

⁶⁶ DZ 1016, 11.14b [SKKK, 420].

In other passages containing words cognate to outer quiescent dwelling, like “outer dwelling” (*waishe* 外舍), Xu and Yang both represent the outer compound as a place for non-initiates. Xu Mi mentions an “outer dwelling” when citing the great deeds of his ancestor seven generations prior, Xu Zia 許子阿, to convince the Perfected of his own worthiness to attain godhood.⁶⁷ Xu explains that Zia had amassed great virtue while serving nearby residents at an “outer dwelling” during a drought in 108–9 CE that had killed a majority of the population.

[Zi]a donated all of his family’s resources to help save the masses. He personally made prescriptions for medicinal [brews] and worked diligently at an outer dwelling. When people [he treated] passed away, it was if he had lost his own kin. He viewed the illnesses of those he treated as if they were his own.⁶⁸

阿乃施散家財，拯其眾庶。親營方藥，勲勞外舍。臨人之喪，如失其親。救人之患，如己之疾。

Granted, Xu describes here an outer dwelling built in antiquity. But whether real or imagined, Xu’s mention of these historical events suggests he conceived of an outer compound as a place to heal nearby residents.⁶⁹ In Yang’s revelations, the outer dwelling (*waishe*) was a place where adepts engaged in conventional Daoist rituals as opposed to the esoteric techniques that Yang could access. Addressing a revelation from the Lady of Purple Tenuity (*Ziwei wang furen* 紫微王夫人), Yang instructs Xu Mi to take a shower with water infused with bamboo leaves and peach bark. Yang claims that heavenly beings use this same kind of water after returning from journeys to earth. Subsequently, Yang stresses that this kind of

⁶⁷ Zia’s given name was Xu Zhao 許肇. Tao Hongjing notes that there was a discrepancy between this revelation and the Xu family’s genealogy, which records Xu Jing 許敬 as Xu Mi’s fifth great-grandfather. See *DZ* 1016, 20.5a–b [SKKK, 702–3]; Bokenkamp, *Ancestors*, 167.

⁶⁸ *DZ* 1016, 4.11a–b [SKKK, 162].

⁶⁹ In addition to the outer dwelling of Xu Zia, Yang writes about a guesthouse (*keshe* 客舍) that Bao Jing 鮑靚 (fl. 322–25 CE) and his younger sister operated seven generations prior when they were known as Li Zhan 李湛 and Zhang Lü 張慮. Due to the service they carried out on behalf of others at the guesthouse, Li and Zhang secured favorable rebirths. *DZ* 1016, 12.2b [SKKK, 437–38]. For more on this story, see Bokenkamp, *Ancestors*, 167.

bath was far more effective at cleansing the body of impurities than was the practice of using talisman water, as practiced in the “outer dwellings” of Xu’s contemporaries.

Whenever heavenly beings return after a trip down [to earth] they all use this kind of water to cleanse themselves. None of the arts practiced in the outer dwelling (*waishu*) like [swallowing] talisman water or rinsing [one’s mouth while] incanting can compare [to this bath water].⁷⁰

天人下遊既反，未曾不用此水以自蕩也。至於世間符水祝漱外舍之近術，皆莫比於此方也。

The Lady of Purple Tenuity drew a similar distinction between the Perfected regimen and the commonplace rituals practiced in outer dwellings in a revelation about Xu Mi’s friend Chi Yin 郗愔 (313–84 CE). Here the goddess commended Chi and promised him a high rank if he was able to continue to show zeal for his study of Perfection. If Chi was unable to keep up with his studies, however, he would not even obtain benefit from those rituals of the outer dwelling, the goddess warned. Such a contrast presumably meant that even a novice or uninitiated individual should be able to participate in the ritual practiced in the outer dwelling.

The Lady of Purple Tenuity said, “If Chi [Yin] is to attain his Dao then he will become a regent of the Taiqing [heavens]. If he is able to hear the key [teachings] of the Dao and strive [to use them], he will surely reach this level [of postmortem rank]. But if he is not focused and is led astray, he will not even benefit from the Daoist rituals [performed at] the outer dwelling.”⁷¹

紫微夫人云：「郗若得道，乃當為太清監也。若能聞要道而勤者，當至此格。若不專篤而守迷行，外舍道法者，則都失也。」

⁷⁰ DZ 1016, 9.14a [SKKK, 326]. Leaders of Daoist communities in this period conducted rites of absolution through burning talismans and mixing the ashes in water. See *Sanguo zhi*, 8.263; Yoshikawa, “Seishitsu,” 126 for more on Zhang Jue’s 張角 Way of Great Peace (*Taiping dao* 太平道), which made use of incantations and talismans. The phrase *zhushu* 祝漱 (“incantation rinse”) likely refers to the fact that adepts said incantations while swirling saliva in their mouths. Elsewhere, Yang describes a technique in which adepts said an incantation while simultaneously grinding their teeth (*zhuochi* 琢齒) and rinsing their mouths with saliva (*shuye* 漱液). These actions would ward away evil spirits. DZ 1016, 10.10a [SKKK, 365].

⁷¹ DZ 1016, 8.7a [SKKK, 285]. I have translated *zhuandu* 專篤 as “focused” rather than “assiduous” or “diligent” since Yang equates this term with *jing* 精. This would make *zhuandu* a technical term referring to the concentration an adept needed for meditation rituals. See DZ 1016, 10.6a [SKKK, 357].

Yang also asserts that, even in the cavernous world beneath Maoshan, some of the lower-level spirits resided in outer dwellings. These places were occupied by underworld governors (*dixia zhu* 地下主), one of the lowest and least influential of Maoshan's deities.⁷² Just as we saw that Xu Mi thought his hermitage was constructed atop the pinnacle of Maoshan's Grotto-Heaven and mirrored its authority, Xu's outer dwelling also had one or more counterparts beneath the mountain surface.

There are three classes of underworld governors all of which have the rank of demon generals. Each [governor] accumulated much merit while living and committed many good deeds . . . The first class of underworld governors are dispersed among the outer dwellings (*waishe*) where they live in leisure without any responsibilities. They are not under the purview of the Nine Palaces, and not permitted [to practice] bodily transformation.⁷³ While they are residents of the Grotto-Heaven, they are among the lowest ranks.⁷⁴

地下主者復有三等，鬼帥之號復有三等。並是世有功德，積行所鍾.....其一等地下主者，散在外舍，閑停無業。不受九宮教制，不聞練化之業。雖俱在洞天，而是主者之下者。

Extant texts do not confirm or deny that Yang built both an inner and outer compound, but these revelations and letters demonstrate that Yang devised new plans for his sponsor that would expand his original plan for a single compound. Yang's writings concerning the outer dwelling illustrate that he devised strategies to expand the temple from a place to be used for Xu's salvation to a place in which his revelations could potentially reach a much wider audience.

Both the revelations concerning the past ritual compounds at Maoshan and his proposal to Xu Mi about the future construction of the inner and outer site of the Maoshan temple were strategies by which Yang attempted to persuade his sponsor about the benefits of

⁷² Despite Yang's insistence that the rank of underworld governor was a powerless position, Xu Mi was intrigued by this postmortem rank that would permit a life of leisure and little responsibility. Upon hearing that Bao Jing and his sister had attained the rank of underworld governor, for instance, Xu probes deeper into why they were stationed and what precincts they guarded. See *DZ* 1016, 11.18a.

⁷³ The Nine Palaces (*jiu gong* 九宮) are the otherworldly offices where the transcendent and perfected officials kept watch over human adepts hoping for lofty postmortem appointments. *DZ* 1016, 5.15a–b.

⁷⁴ *DZ* 1016, 13.1a–b [*SKKK*, 465–66]

construction. The revelations about the past bolstered Yang's claims about the advantages of a temple. These backward-looking statements further drew Xu's attention to the past successes of adepts who had built compounds on the mountain. Yang's forward-looking statements about the dimensions and possible locations for the ritual chamber and building for guests at Xu's temple focus on new technologies. The architectural blueprints would make building a ritual compound even more effective than it had been in antiquity. The combination of these two kinds of representation enabled Yang to claim the ancient origins of his architectural visions while at the same time promoting an innovative design.

(1.2) *The Promotion of Maoshan, ca. 499 CE*

The second part of this chapter focuses on the writings of Tao Hongjing, who edited and wrote a commentary to Yang's revelations over a century later and also presented his plans for building at Maoshan by combining backward- and forward-looking statements. I analyze passages from Tao's commentary to Yang's revelations, and first study how Tao writes about the recent history of development at Maoshan as a strategy for distinguishing his compound from competing groups operating on the mountain. I stress that Tao portrays these rival institutions negatively and also contrasts these competitors with positive statements about his recent projects. I feature passages in which Tao explicitly writes to prospective sponsors about the possibility for future developments at Maoshan, most notably the removal of competing voices on the mountain.

(1.2.1) *Tao Hongjing's Reappraisal of Maoshan's Past*

Tao Hongjing began his career as a civil and military official under the southern regimes of the Song and Qi dynasties. Upon the death of his mother in 483, Tao retired from his official post and began studying religious texts under the tutelage of Sun Youyue 孫游岳. From Sun, Tao learned about Yang's revelations; inspired by these texts, he traveled for a decade in southern China collecting manuscripts written by Yang and Xu. Tao moved to Maoshan in 492 after retiring from official life. By the time Tao arrived at Maoshan, he had already accumulated a sizeable collection of Yang Xi's manuscripts. During his first seven years at Maoshan, Tao edited a collection of Yang's rituals, poetry, and other correspondence. In 499, Tao circulated this compendium of texts, *Declarations*.⁷⁵

Tao grouped most of the texts concerning Xu Mi's search for a construction site at Maoshan in a fascicle of *Declarations* titled "Jishen shu" 稽神樞 [Investigating the pivot of the gods; hereafter, "Pivot"]. Tao ordered the texts of "Pivot" in a rough chronological order; he placed those revelations Yang disclosed in 364 at the beginning of the treatise.⁷⁶ We know that editors prior to Tao circulated similar fascicles of revelations that described Xu's Maoshan compound. Two decades prior to "Pivot," editor Gu Huan 顧歡 (420–83/91) included an entire fascicle titled "Jin suo biao jingshe di" 近所標精舍地 [The present location marking our quiescent dwelling] in his compendium *Daoji jing* 道迹經 [Scripture of the Dao's traces].⁷⁷ In this text, Gu, like Tao, collated revelations detailing the fourth-century

⁷⁵ For more on Tao's composition of *Declarations*, see Ishii, *Dōkyō gaku no kenkyū*, 123–27; Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 2.313–45.

⁷⁶ Chang Chao-jan has demonstrated that Tao bolstered his argument by culling these revelations with passages from Mao Ying's hagiography, the *Mao sanjun zhuan*, a text that also contained similar details of Maoshan's topography and history. Chang, "Xipu," 89–112.

⁷⁷ For more on Gu Huan's collation of the Shangqing Revelations, see DZ 1016, 19.7b–9a; Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 31–33, 51; Ishii, *Dōkyō gaku no kenkyū*, 128–59; Chang, "Xipu," 157.

construction of the early Maoshan compound.⁷⁸ The only extant part of Gu's work on these revelations is its title, which Tao mentions while criticizing his predecessor. Tao claims that Gu had not sought out the fourth-century manuscripts, thus making it impossible to develop a full chronology of the events surrounding the building of the Maoshan compound. Gu, in other words, understood Yang's revelations about the temple as a straightforward description of where the compound was located. Tao, on the other hand, sees these texts as reflecting the negotiation process between Yang and Xu prior to construction.

The householder Gu [Huan] placed this [revelation about Liangchang] within a fascicle titled "The Present Location that Marks our Quiescent Dwelling."⁷⁹ Based on the evidence from Yuan's [i.e., Xu Hui's] manuscript, we see that this ordering [of the revelations] is incorrect and that the [revelation concerning Liangchang] should be read [as occurring] before the senior administrator built his hermitage.⁸⁰

顧居士所撰本，此中向「近所標精舍地」一篇。今視掾書者，不以相次，乃別出在長史所營宅前耳。

Most of Tao's critical remarks in "Pivot" are directed not at previous commentators but at the religious communities of Maoshan founded in the years intervening between Xu Mi's death and Tao's arrival at Maoshan. A few decades after Xu Mi's death, writes Tao, aristocrats living in the nearby capital, Jiankang (present-day Nanjing), began sponsoring priests to move to Maoshan and establish new temple institutions called *xie* 廨 ("station houses").⁸¹ The first station house was built in the mid-420s by a cleric surnamed Chen 陳 on behalf of a concubine of King Jing of Changsha 長沙景王.⁸²

⁷⁸ There is evidence that editors prior to Gu and Tao were also avid collectors of revelations featuring the historical geography of Maoshan. Many of these revelations were included in the third fascicle of the *Taiqing jinyi shenqi jing* 太清金液神氣經 [Scripture of the taiqing heaven of liquefied gold and divine qi], a text compiled around 430 CE. DZ 881, 3.4a [ZHDZ, 18.27c]; Schipper, *The Taoist Canon*, 200.

⁷⁹ Gu Huan's title of this now-lost fascicle is a quote from a revelation about how Xu Mi's temple was built on top of the highest room of Maoshan's Grotto-Heaven. DZ 1016, 13.16b [SKKK, 497]. Also note that the original *jingshe* of Yang's revelation has been changed into *jingshe* in Tao's note. Regardless of whether this alteration was by Gu or Tao, it suggests that the two terms were nearly synonymous.

⁸⁰ DZ 1016, 11.14b [SKKK, 420].

⁸¹ The term *xie* once described places where travelers could rest on long-distance journeys. In particular, *xie* referred to postal stations built along highways that also served as the residences of higher officials on assignment in outlying areas. See Forke, *Lun-heng*, 2.174. By the fifth century, however, *xie*

After the senior administrator [Xu's] hermitage fell into ruins no one knew its location. At the beginning of the Song dynasty [420–79 CE] the consort of King Jing of Changsha supported a Daoist priest surnamed Chen. For [him] she established a station house to the northwest of Leiping Peak, [a site] that is now the North Station House.⁸³

長史宅自湮毀之後，無人的知處。至宋初長沙景王檀太妃供養道士姓陳，為立道士廨於雷平西北，即是今北廨也。

By 460, a priest named Wang Wenqing 王文清 replaced Chen as the abbot (*xiezhu* 廨主) of this new community. It was Wang who initiated the idea of locating the ruins of Xu Mi's compound. Upon reading old records, Wang discovered that Chen, the first abbot, had selected the construction site based on its proximity to Xu Mi's hermitage. Excited by this discovery, Wang interviewed local residents to see if anyone might be able to verify that this site had indeed been Xu's former home. In 463, the former servant of the Xu family from the nearby village of Shuxu 述墟 told Wang that the foundation of Xu's compound was in front of the early fifth-century building. This old man further explained that an old well positioned in front of Xu's residence could still be found among a grove of tallow trees.⁸⁴ Wang found the location but had to cut back densely overgrown weeds before discovering well stones, just

increasingly became perceived as places of worship in remote places, usually represented as small huts where adepts lived and worshipped. Tao, for example, described the private residence of one of his disciples as a *xie*: it contained three rooms, of which was used exclusively for ritual practice. *DZ* 302, 1.3a–b; Bokenkamp, “Answering a Summons,” 192–93. See also the early sixth-century hagiography of Kumārijīva (*Jiumoluoshi* 鳩摩羅什, 344–413 CE), who moved into a *xie* after accepting twenty prostitutes into his community and wanted to put distance between himself and his new residents. *T* 2145, 55.100a; *T* 2059, 50.332c. The royal construction of these station houses must have been fairly common in Tao's day. The royal prince Xiao Changmao 蕭長懋 (458–93), established a *xie* in 490 after a flood ravaged the capital to help distribute clothing and medicine for those in need. *Nan Qishu*, 40.700. Given its wide range of semantic possibilities, I render *xie* into English as “station house” to preserve its early denotative meaning.

⁸² Tao identified the concubine by her surname, Tan 檀. King Jing refers to Liu Daolian 劉道憐 (368–422), whom Tao identified in the “Xu Mi Stele” as the sponsor of this early fifth-century compound. Liu's biographical info can be found in *Songshu* 宋書, 51.1461–64; *Nanshi* 南史, 13.353–54. I have found no corroborating evidence of Liu or his concubine's connecting them to Maoshan.

⁸³ *DZ* 1016, 13.17a [SKKK, 497–98].

⁸⁴ The Chinese tallow tree, *wujiu* 烏柏 (*stilingia sebifera*) literally means “crow-mortar.” The name derives from the fact that birds love to eat the tallow berries and the root of this tree is used to make mortars. The berries are three-seeded, and the kernels are enveloped with vegetable fat, thus producing high-yielding oil. See Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 423–25.

as the old man had related. Wang cleared the well full of rubble prior to repairing its outer wall.⁸⁵

Later, on at the peaks of Jurong [i.e., Maoshan], Wang Wenqing was the head [of Chen's] station house. After seeing the hagiographies [once told to Xu Mi?] he knew that this had once been the site of Xu's hermitage. Afterwards he went and interviewed local elders. In 463 an elder of Shuxu named Xu Ou claimed that his ancestors had been servants of senior administrator Xu and that he had been told where Xu's residence [was located]. [He said] it was located amidst a grove of tallow trees, which was planted right in front of the current station house. There should be the remains of an old well that was [dug] in front of the fasting hall.⁸⁶ It was now completely overgrown with weeds. When Wang went and pulled back these weeds he discovered a brick well just as [Xu Ou] had said. [The well] was filled to the brim so [Wang] dug out the well and restacked the bricks.⁸⁷ At present [this well produces] good water slightly white in color . . . Because all know that this is [Xu's] old residence it remains unoccupied and no one dares live there.⁸⁸

後又有句容山，其王文清，後為此廨主。見傳記知許昔於此立宅，因博訪耆宿，至大明七年，有術虛老公徐偶云其先祖伏事許長史，相傳識此宅，只在今廨前烏柏樹處應是，似猶有齋堂前井存。于時草萊蕪沒，王即芟除尋覓，果得磚井，上已欲滿，仍掘治，更加甃累。今有好水，水色小白……於是審知是故宅，從來空廢，無敢居者。

⁸⁵ For more on the early medieval excavation of wells, see Cui Yan's 崔琰 (d. 216) discovery of Liu An's 劉安 (ca. 180–122 BCE) hermitage as recorded in the early sixth-century *Shuijing zhu* 水經注 [Commentary on the water classic], 32.751; Campsey, *To Live*, 240. The custom of searching for ancient wells is still practiced today. See, for instance, a recent excavation of a well at Huang Peng village, where in the late 1980s historical documents were used to locate an ancient well. See Chan, "Temple-Building," 68. The ancient wells of Maoshan seem to have constituted one of the most visible and popular images of the Maoshan reclamation. Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818) discovered a well-stone at Maoshan on May 11, 1785. Its inscription reads: "In the fifteenth year of the *tianjian* reign of Liang, a *bingshen* year (February 18, 516–February 6, 517), the emperor compassionately planned [this project?] for the thirsty, and ordered the Maoshan Daoist priest [...] Yongruo to make a total of fifteen pavilion [capped?] wells." 梁天監十五年太歲丙申，皇帝愍商之渴乏，詔茅山道士□□永若作亭□井十五□。QLW, 69.9b–10a [p. 3366]. There are at least six characters that are no longer legible in this inscription. The stone bearing this text was taken by Japanese soldiers in World War II and now resides at the Yurikan Museum 有鄰館 in Kyoto, Japan.

⁸⁶ *Zhaitang* 齋堂 ("fasting hall") was a temple building used for purification rituals. The term gained currency in the early fifth century to describe remote private places to conduct purification rituals. The author of the *Taiji zhenren fu lingbao zhajie wei yi zhujing yaojue* 太極真人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣 [Key instructions from various scriptures for the ritual of the lingbao retreat, expounded by the perfected being of the grand bourn] writes that these halls were located within "quiescent dwellings" for short-term ceremonies, and were built separate from the compound for longer rituals. See DZ 532, 7b [ZHDZ, 4.104b]. In one of his later commentaries, Tao Hongjing describes the fasting hall that one of his disciples built as a small annex on the east side of the disciple's family residence. DZ 302, 1.11b [SSMTK, 34].

⁸⁷ The *Maoshan zhi* reads *tu* 土 for *shang*.

⁸⁸ DZ 1016, 13.17a [SKKK, 497–98].

Tao does not elaborate on what became of Xu Mi's well following Wang's discovery. He does, however, highlight Wang's later successes after the excavation. In 479, the first year of the Qi dynasty, Emperor Gaodi (Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成, 427–82 CE) sponsored a lodge (*guan* 館) for Wang and seven followers. The site of the new building was on the southern face of Greater Mao Peak, the southernmost summit of Maoshan (see southwestern lateral gate, MAP 7, E-3), about twenty kilometers from his previous residence.⁸⁹ Wang organized the construction of a complex consisting of living quarters and a ritual hall, as well as covered porticos that ran between these structures.

During the *yuanhui* reign [473–77] a group of men also came to the cave and decided to live here. When the Qi dynasty began [479] the emperor ordered Wang Wenqing of Jurong to establish Chongyuan Lodge [at this same spot]. He ordered the construction of a large hall with annexes and a veranda.⁹⁰ It truly was a bold [design].⁹¹ There were seven to eight Daoist priests allotted [to Wang] to perform menial tasks.⁹²

元徽中有數男人復來其前而居。至齊初，乃敕句容人王文清仍此立館，號為崇元，開置堂宇廂廊，殊為方副。常有七八道士，皆資俸力。

By the time Tao arrived in 492, the number of worshippers living near Wang's new lodge had expanded tenfold. Tao writes that there were at least ten *xieshe* 廨舍 ("station dwellings") in the immediate vicinity of the Chongyuan Lodge, and there were dozens more smaller residences nearby. Unlike his neutral position on the merits of Wang's new lodge, Tao adopts a disparaging tone and describes these groups as wayward. His attitude is best

⁸⁹ Tao notes that Wang was not the first resident near the southwestern lateral gate. That distinction belonged to a small convent of women led by Daoist priestess Xu Piaonü 徐漂女 who moved to Maoshan in the 420s under the auspices of the Guangzhou official Lu Hui 陸徽 (391–452). *DZ* 1016, 11.15a [SKKK, 421]. See *Songshu*, 92.2267–68. For more on female practitioners of this period, see Schafer, "The Restoration of the Shrine," 124–29; Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns*, 6–8; Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 494–522.

⁹⁰ It is possible that this land was granted on the presumption that that Wang and his servants would perform weekly rituals on behalf of the empire. Bumbacher, "On Pre-Tang Monastic Establishments," 151.

⁹¹ I am tempted to read the phrase *fangpi* 方副 ("squared divisions") as referring to the layout of Wang's lodge, which Tao characterized as remarkable (*shu* 殊). I have, however, sided with the Japanese translation that reads it is an emphatic phrase. The latter interpretation is plausible since *fangpi* might be a graphic variant for *fangfu* 方幅, a colloquial term in early medieval China for "truly." See *DKW*, 5.669a–b.

⁹² *DZ* 1016, 11.15a–b [SKKK, 421].

illustrated by his representation of lady known as the Grotto Clerk (*dongli* 洞吏), who he says habitually cleaned the cave near Wang's lodge and falsely prophesied to travelers.

Subsequently, countless numbers of men and women have come from afar to live near this center over the past twenty years. [Their homes] stretch out for many miles. While there are over ten station dwellings constructed [before the cave], few people study the superior way [i.e., Shangqing] and instead perform Lingbao fasts and compose talismans. Not long ago there was a woman who called herself the Grotto Clerk who arrived here to live before the cave. She has devoted herself to ensure that the cave is kept in pristine condition. She is versed in the shamanic arts and divination techniques, but [her prophecies] are misleading and untrue.⁹³

自二十許年，遠近男女互來依約，周流數里，廨舍十餘坊，而學上道者甚寡，不過修靈寶齋及章符而已。近有一女人來洞口住，勤於灑掃，自稱洞吏，頗作巫師占卜，多雜浮假。

Tao similarly writes about the five thousand visitors who visit Maoshan in the third lunar month during a popular pilgrimage. These men and women, claims Tao, often cut their pilgrimages to the mountain short for flimsy reasons, such as inclement weather, and these devotees sing hymns and pay homage to gods who have little to do with the mountain.

It is only on the eighteenth of the third month that [people] of the public and private [institutions] assemble here like clouds.⁹⁴ There are [always] hundreds of carriages with nearly five thousand visitors. There are priests and priestesses, as well as lay men and women who make this pilgrimage, and the mountain looks as though it has been transformed into a metropolitan center. They all ascend the mountain together and sing Lingbao hymns. As soon as they have made their oblations they quickly depart and return home. Even if there was a person who sincerely [hoped] for a secret contract [with deities] among them, how could they possibly catch a glimpse of the gods?⁹⁵

唯三月十八日，輒公私雲集，車有數百乘，人將四五千，道俗男女，狀如都市之眾，看人唯共登山，作靈寶唱讚，事訖便散。豈復有深誠密契，願睹神真者乎？

⁹³ DZ 1016, 11.15b [SKKK, 421].

⁹⁴ Public lodges (*gongguan* 公館) as opposed to private lodges (*siguan* 私館) were hostels owned and operated by regents of the emperor. See “Zengzi wen” 曾子問 in the *Liji* (SSJZS), 39.19b [p. 384]. Tao's indication that there were people from both kinds of institutions makes it likely that both worship groups and private individuals journeyed to the mountain during the spring pilgrimage.

⁹⁵ DZ 1016, 11.13b [SKKK, 419].

Tao writes that these popular pilgrimages are superficial because neither residents nor visitors are aware of Maoshan's deities as described in Yang's revelations. It is clear that for Tao, these religious activities were a serious impediment, rather than an aid, to realizing the potential of Maoshan as devotional site. Such ignorance, argues Tao, was by no means limited to the men and women living near Wang's Chongyuan Lodge. He also tells about a sorceress who had amassed a considerable following and had already established a network of temples in surrounding villages. Furthermore, there are temple compounds near Middle Mao Peak where people engage in blood sacrifice, a practice forbidden for Yang's gods.⁹⁶ For Tao, the proximity of these temples to Maoshan meant that they should be under the jurisdiction of the gods disclosed in the fourth-century revelations.

This temple is now in the Ping'e village on the east side of the mountain. There is a woman surnamed Yin who is a sorceress [there]. She has gone out into all of the villages to the west [of Maoshan] where each [community] has built a temple [in her honor]. Every year the Wuxu Temple west of Greater Mao Peak and the Shuxu Temple atop the northern face of Middle Mao Peak jointly host dancing [ceremonies]. They both engage in bloody sacrifices. While [these temples] should be under the jurisdiction of [Sire] Ximing, they are not aware of the connection to the perfected and transcendent officials.⁹⁷

此廟今猶在山東平阿村中。有女子姓尹為祝。逮山西諸村，各各造廟。大茅西為吳墟廟，中茅後山上為述墟廟，並歲事鼓舞。同乎血祀，蓋已為西明所司，非復真仙僚屬矣。

By Tao's account, not all the priests at Maoshan represented a threat. When priests gather at Greater Mao Peak on auspicious days, for instance, Tao claims these men are inferior not because the rites are flawed, but rather because these men lack the knowledge of

⁹⁶ Yang argues that blood sacrifice was unnecessary for these rarefied gods because they could not be persuaded through traditional sacrifices. For more on the representation of the restrictions of sacrifice in this period, see Kleeman, "Licentious Cults," 194.

⁹⁷ *DZ* 1016, 11.9b [SKKK, 415]. Yang Xi identifies Sire Ximing 西明公 as King Wen of the Zhou dynasty (trad. eleventh century BCE). *DZ* 1016, 10.13b [SKKK, 370]. In a different revelation, Yang claims that King Wen's postmortem rank placed him in charge of the generals serving the Northern Thearch (*Beidi* 北帝). *DZ* 1016, 15.5b [SKKK, 555].

the mountain's history.⁹⁸ Tao contrasts these rituals with his access to Maoshan's ruins and buried artifacts of antiquity as identified in the Shangqing Revelations; he also weighs the actions of these priests against his grasp of the ancient history of the site, which he perceives with the help of Yang's revelations.

At present there are many rocks at the highest point [of Greater Mao Peak]. Every time there is an auspicious day, Daoist priests from near and far ascend this summit to burn incense and carry out rituals. There are no longer grasses or trees at this spot, so the [priests] have constructed a small altar out of rocks. In former times there was even a room with a tiled roof standing at this spot, but it was destroyed by the winds. Soon thereafter ancient kings came bearing heavy cauldrons with lift sockets modeled on the sun and moon, as well as three legs modeled on the Three Talents [i.e., heaven, earth, and man]. They were able to steam and concoct all the things of this world.⁹⁹

今最高處乃多石。每吉日，遠近道士咸登上，燒香禮拜。無復草木，累石為小壇。昔經有小瓦屋，為風所倒。尋古來帝王並重鼎器者，以其兩鉉法日月，三足法三才。能烹飪，熟成萬物。

Tao represents the decades following Xu's death as an era in which humans had strayed away from the divine injunctions detailed in Yang's revelations. Even a sincere and zealous pilgrim would be unable to make progress in spiritual cultivation, writes Tao, because they were constantly distracted by the defilement (*xuanhui* 誼穢) of popular practice. Since Tao intersperses his writings concerning the above practitioners throughout Yang's revelations, this juxtaposition is surely meant to distinguish between an enlightened past and a tumultuous present.

There are surely one or two people among these masses who have made this pilgrimage with utter sincerity and zeal, but, as they are surrounded by all this defilement, they are unable to attain the concentration needed to make contact [with the gods]. Unless they turn away from the masses to seek the beneficence of the gods, they will never attain the spiritual fruits they desire.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Tao uses the phrase *shaoxiang libai* 燒香禮拜 ("burn incense and carry out rituals") to describe these rituals, the same phrase used elsewhere to describe Xu Hui's practice. *DZ* 1016, 20.10b [SKKK, 706]. Yang Xi also writes that deities convened on mountains to carry out rituals (*libai*) in a similar manner. *DZ* 1016, 12.12b [SKKK, 455].

⁹⁹ *DZ* 1016, 11.15a [SKKK, 421].

¹⁰⁰ *DZ* 1016, 11.13b [SKKK, 419].

縱時有至誠一兩人，復患此誼穢，終不能得專心自達，如此抽引乞恩，無因得果矣。

Tao argues that the best way to correct the present situation at Maoshan is to turn back the clock on the development that has recently taken place. When advising the emperor to build a compound at on the northern face of Maoshan, Tao cites the revelations as evidence by which his sponsor should cut back the overdevelopment that has engulfed the mountain.

In the days of antiquity, every inch of Maoshan was covered in thick forests and filbert. The heavens were blocked from view, as the sunlight could not penetrate [Maoshan's] canopy; every place was shrouded in secrecy. In recent times, however, the trees have been chopped and the land tilled, so that lands in every direction are exposed to broad daylight. The times have changed and our needs are much different [than antiquity], and there is little reason to dwell on this. But since these [changes] are a rather recent [phenomenon], we might be able to slow down the development that has happened here over the past fifty or sixty years.¹⁰¹

昔時山下遠近諸處，長林榛芳。遮天蔽日；無處不可隱密。即今斫伐耕稼，四通九達，山中亦皆顯露。時移事異，不復可准。乃言未久如此，正復五六十年來漸劇耳。

Thus, by including in his commentary to Yang's revelations attacks on groups, and activities he deplores, Tao provides us with a description of those individuals who were responsible for creating a wide range of religious institutions in the fifth century. Tao depicts the development of Maoshan in the decades between Yang's revelations and his move to the mountain as a period of decline. His solution to this problem is the eradication of these groups from the mountain, or at the very least to convert these other compounds to accord with Yang's revelations. As we will see below, as the resident expert on Yang Xi, Tao positions himself as the leading authority to undertake the reclamation of Maoshan's sacred sites.

¹⁰¹ DZ 1016, 11.13b [SKKK, 419].

(1.2.2) *Tao Hongjing's Prospectus*

In his commentary to “Pivot,” Tao not only disparages the recent development by competing institutions, he also claims that his proposed projects will restore the ancient ideas established a century and a half earlier. While Tao develops continuity between Xu’s Daoist program and his own, he advocates for something altogether new: the eradication of competing institutions, and an expansion of his temple compound.

Throughout his commentary to “Pivot,” Tao highlights his recent attempts to correlate the events in Yang’s revelations with present sites on the mountain. Tao writes, for instance, about his expedition to the area south of Greater Mao Peak where there were many mines and giant pits that locals called Jinjing 金井 (“gold wells”). Tao interviewed many residents in this area to obtain clues in the regional dialect of the Jurong area that might elucidate Yang’s revelations. He concludes that Jinjing was the place where the former ruler of the kingdom of Wu, Sun Quan, ordered men to mine gold after he found shards of rock containing the precious dust on the eastern side of the mountain.¹⁰² Tao also records some of his failed attempts to find these sites, such as this passage, in which he laments that the use of Maoshan as farmland had made it impossible ascertain if this was one of the sites mentioned in Yang’s revelations:

Northwest of Xu Mi’s residence, near the Small Ridge of Changyin, I have often found numerous pieces of old broken pottery and charred red earth. I suspect it is a site where a person once lived, but the site has been ploughed over and no foundation survives nor, in the end, was there any [sign of a] well. I fear that, like the senior administrator’s well, it has been filled with dirt and disappeared. Furthermore, there are no traces of past mining at Daheng Peak or Lesser Mao Peak, while both Jijin and Greater Mao Peaks do have traces [of ancient miners]. I am still befuddled by these conflicting accounts.¹⁰³

¹⁰² DZ 1016, 11.3b–4a [SKKK, 397].

¹⁰³ DZ 1016, 11.4a [SKKK, 397].

長史宅西北近長隱小岡下，乃時有故破瓦器，焦赤土甚多，疑是人居處。既經耕墾，基域不復存，而了無井，亦恐如長史井堙沒耳。又小茅、大橫不見採金處，大茅、金井若是，復不應頓如此遠居，二三疑昧。

Tao blames his failures to locate the ancient sites at Maoshan, in part, due to changes in the topography over the last century.¹⁰⁴ In his commentary concerning a thousand *jin* of bronze vessels buried at Liangchang, Tao confesses his inability to interpret Yang's abstruse revelations and pinpoint these places. Tao surmises that the changes in the Maoshan landscape have made his search for these treasures a fool's errand.

[Liangchang] still exists today, but I have no knowledge of where the bronze and money is located. Even though there are traces everywhere [its exact location] is imperceptible. I have looked everywhere, from the high clearings down to infertile river[banks] where buildings might have once stood, but I have found no site that looks as though it might have been an old village. I fear that this is because too much time has passed and perhaps the topography has changed.¹⁰⁵

今此山具存，無知其錢銅處。縱有彷彿亦不識。尋視此山，明地高下墩澗，不似經墟村住處。恐歲代久遠，勢迹乖異故也。

Tao interprets his failure not as proof that the revelations were incorrect or that his understanding of these texts was faulty. Rather, Tao suggests that the topography of Maoshan had changed, and that perhaps the landmarks mentioned in the revelations had been covered and could no longer be seen.¹⁰⁶ While he had not been able to map every revelation onto the Maoshan landscape, Tao uses these kinds of commentarial layers to deflect any claims against his competence to lead expeditions to recover Maoshan's past. More than just defending himself from attack, Tao positively asserts the potential for future exploration on the mountain.

¹⁰⁴ See Tao's commentary to the revelation concerning the Heavenly Market Platform, in which he confesses to his readers he was unable to locate the site since it had been buried by trees and rocks. *DZ* 1016, 11.11b–12a [SKKK, 417–18].

¹⁰⁵ *DZ* 1016, 11.15b [SKKK, 422].

¹⁰⁶ See Tao's comments about the Heavenly Market Platform (*Tianshi tan* 天市壇), the site at which Maoshan's gods regularly convened. "I am sure that any of its abnormal features have been worn away. Perhaps it has been overgrown with weeds or covered with dirt. It is hard to say." 踐行不見其異處。或恐為土木蕪沒，所不論耳。 *DZ* 1016, 11.11b–12a [SKKK, 417–18].

In addition to describing his recent expeditions, Tao also distinguishes his development of Maoshan by writing a positive depiction of his burgeoning compound. Tao promotes his residence as a place of solemn practice by stressing how his residence is hidden away deep in the mountains at a site conducive to meditation and bodily cultivation. He further represents his residence as an ancient site where adepts formerly concocted divine elixirs next to bubbling brooks endowed with healing powers and high-quality medicinal herbs.¹⁰⁷ In these representations, it seems that Tao envisions himself as a kind of landscape designer capable of transforming a barren plot of land into a pleasing “landscape” (*xingwang* 形望).

This place is well hidden and is a quality location for alchemical practices . . . In the past few years since moving here I have lit fire to the surrounding forests in order to encourage verdant growth and make this into a pleasing landscape. The mountain produces fine atractylodes and other herbs. The site is exceptionally suited to pine and cypress, but there was before no one to plant them and such trees do not grow on their own. Now you can find them at various places as I have been planting seedlings every year.¹⁰⁸

其處隱障甚可合丹.....自隱居住來，燠養成秀，於形望大好。山出好
朮并雜藥，絕宜松柏，而本無人植，不容自生。今亦分布，歲種之耳。

Tao describes the geography of his compound, but he also focuses on projects he hoped to undertake in the near future. Following Yang’s revelations concerning the sacred sites of Maoshan, Tao writes that these would be potential spots for future development. Many of these projects involved identifying and restoring abandoned sites once used by Xu Mi. Tao writes, for example, that he is planning to rebuild an embankment at Chishi in order to recreate a reservoir that Xu Mi had once built west of Middle Mao Peak.¹⁰⁹ Restoring the reservoir, claims Tao, would provide a great service to the surrounding peasants by

¹⁰⁷ The water, claims Tao, was the same temperature all year round and was fed by a source that could not be depleted even in the severest drought. See *DZ* 1016, 11.10b [*SKKK*, 416].

¹⁰⁸ *DZ* 1016, 11.10b–11a [*SKKK*, 416–17].

¹⁰⁹ Tao’s development of the fields and dams west of Maoshan is analogous to the “reclamation” of medieval European monastic lands in which religious institutions developed large tracts of uncultivated properties into fertile lands. This often involved the efforts of great laymen who sponsored infrastructural projects like the building of ditches and dikes. See Barraclough, *The Crucible of Europe*, 150.

developing local agriculture. Furthermore, this activity would contribute to Tao's goal of "striving for distant traces" (*zhui yuanji* 追遠跡)—in other words, the reclamation of those sites associated with Yang's revelations.

While these fields are irrigated with mountain water, during times of drought the creek bed dries up and thus a reservoir is difficult to maintain here. We do not know if [Xu] ever tried to cultivate the fields again. The [embankment of this] reservoir still has a breach in its wall. It would probably take about one hundred men to repair the dam, but if successful it could irrigate over ten *qing* of fields. I have servants within my lodge who have planted crops all along this creek. I often want to restore the dam back to its original condition to strive for the distant traces. This would surely be of great service to the surrounding residents.¹¹⁰

此田雖食澗水，旱時微少，塘又難立。不知後當遂墾之不。今塘尚決，補築當用數百夫，則可溉田十許頃。隱居館中門人，亦於此隨水播植。常願修復此塘，以追遠跡。兼為百姓之惠也。

There is a forward-looking quality to Tao's language in "Pivot." In his representation of the Chishi Dam, Tao not only highlights the history of the site but argues for the need of future development. In juxtaposing the past with his projections about the future, Tao distinguishes his efforts at recovering Maoshan from those of competing religious orders. Tao's strategy was predicated on the idea that "Pivot" marked the end of one phase of exploration at Maoshan. He stresses that more work will be needed to ascertain places mentioned in Yang's revelations that he has been unable to locate.

Tao concludes that even when the words of the revelations are obscure or seem incorrect, there is the possibility that Maoshan's deities might miraculously reveal these places. Here Tao describes his exploration of a site on the southwestern side of Liangchang Peak:

I have often found bricks, roof tiles, and other ancient artifacts [here]. It appears as though it has long been a place where people lived. It also confirms why one should not transgress [on places reserved for deities]. Having pondered this [revelation] you will [realize] that [while] it is appropriate [to build] west of Middle Mao Peak, you should not abandon

¹¹⁰ DZ 1016, 11.20a [SKKK, 432]. Tao also mentioned his plans to restore the reservoir at Red Rock earlier in his commentary to "Pivot." See DZ 1016, 11.16a [SKKK, 422].

[developing] Liangchang.¹¹¹ Whenever the words of the Perfected do not seem to be right, you will unexpectedly discover the places to which they describe.¹¹²

多見磚瓦故物。似經住止處。亦驗烈不可穢犯。君此審是，則宣言中茅之西，不應遠舉良常。大都真人語自不正的，遇所引處便言耳。

In order to conduct future explorations at Maoshan, Tao admits that he must wait for the support of others to embark on the building projects outlined in his prospectus. He expresses his eagerness to continue his explorations of the mountain, as these studies might uncover the identity of the miraculous sites mentioned in Yang's revelations. He laments, however, that he lacks a partnership necessary to fully discover (and uncover) more places mentioned in Yang's revelations.

I have been on this mountain seven or eight years, but I still have not traveled on every path [at Maoshan]. How could a mere mortal possibly conduct a thorough investigation? [For all of those] sites I have yet to explore it pains me [to think] that I have had no close companion to traverse the dangerous mountain paths together.¹¹³ "Walking by myself" makes me feel "alone and forlorn."¹¹⁴ So I have brought my wandering to a halt, though I am ever regretful of [this decision]. Hopefully in the near future I can pick my walking stick back up and roam through the mountains by myself; there are still so many details about things I have heard or read [that I would like to explore further].¹¹⁵

自隱居來此山七八年，尚未得窮歷踐行。而況悠悠之徒，令其究竟之耶？所以來得遍履者，患於無良侶可同登陟之艱，獨行又覺踽踽，是以遂爾淹稽，常所耻恨。比日方負杖孤遊；庶當委曲所聞所見耳。

Tao never identifies the "close companion" by name, but we know Tao submitted *Declarations* to Emperor Wu, and the latter was instrumental in funding a series of constructions beginning in 501. While Tao does not explicitly mention the emperor in his commentary, he often refers to his potential sponsor as a virtual participant in his Maoshan

¹¹¹ Yoshikawa and Mugitani read the *jun* 君 as *ruo* 若 on this grounds that the meaning is clearer, but it is not inconceivable that this commentary was directed toward Tao's imperial sponsor. I have thus preserved the original reading and translated it as "you."

¹¹² DZ 1016, 11.14a [SKKK, 420].

¹¹³ I follow the Japanese translation in reading *nian* as a scribal error for *wei* 未.

¹¹⁴ This line is a modified quote of *Shijing*, Mao 119 (SSJZS, 6b.4a [p. 223]), in which the poet laments that he walks beneath a grove of pear trees all alone as a traveler and stranger to all he meets.

¹¹⁵ DZ 1016, 11.12a [SKKK, 418].

reclamation. He mentions that, at the time of composition (499 CE), his potential sponsor had expressed interest in building on the western face of Middle Mao Peak. Tao represents Yang's revelations as a guide informing Tao and his sponsor about where to construct a new temple. The revelations, writes Tao, would lead the emperor to some of the best vistas on the mountain, but the emperor would first need to be initiated as a Daoist follower to build at these sites. If the emperor built his compound without the proper credentials, argues Tao, this would be considered a grave offense against the gods of Maoshan. Tao inserts the following comment after a revelation in which Yang stated that there were only a few places at Maoshan suitable for construction.

If you ascend to these spots you will have a scenic view as described [in the revelation]. From these [texts] you should be able to gain a general idea of the whereabouts [of good sites]. If you are a transcendent or perfected who has passed from the world or even a seed person, you are guaranteed to arrive here. But lacking this allotment you will act in vain if you attempt to build a chamber [here]. No [esoteric] formula will help you.¹¹⁶ You would be better off to move somewhere else. Of all the misdeeds none are greater than hearing these [revelations] yet building wherever you please.¹¹⁷

會登其地，依說觀望。自可領略，粗知其處。若為仙真度世及種民者，無患不自然得至。苟其非分，徒攜手築室，必當諸方不立。趣使移去耳。悠悠凡猥，勿承此強欲居之。

By promoting Yang's revelations as a guide for how an individual should construct a compound at Maoshan, Tao positions himself as an expert on the information needed for such projects. He edits Yang's revelations out of an interest in highlighting how these texts could benefit and aid potential sponsors' decisions to build at Maoshan. Tao often laments the ambiguity of Yang's revelations, but he notes how his survey of Maoshan has resulted in the discovery of excellent sites for the production of alchemical elixirs. Note that in the following

¹¹⁶ "Esoteric formula" is a loose translation for *zhu fang* 諸方 ("various recipes"). Ge Hong used the same phrase to describe the various kinds of books that circulated in his day listing out esoteric techniques associated with transcendent beings. See *Baopuzi neipian*, 271; Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion*, 252.

¹¹⁷ *DZ* 1016, 11.4b [SKKK, 398].

passage Tao assures the emperor that his commentary is a general outline, and he could reveal more if his sponsor decided to build at Maoshan.

I think this must be a place where there are many trees and rocks on the site, and this [revelation] could concern one or two sites. It has been hard to search for [their whereabouts]. If only we could implore [the gods] to bestow [more information], but this would be out of the question. If you wish to engage in alchemy, take note that there is a long eastward flowing brook running on the south side of this peak. It is hidden from view and has a favorable topography. When you settle on a date for construction to commence, then I can describe [more about this site] in detail.¹¹⁸

恐此或當是即今多石及樹木，但金之所在，指一兩處，亦難可尋索。唯啟乞垂賜，所不論耳。意欲營轉鍊之事，亦指此山前臨長澗東流水。至幽隱，有形勢。若基構有期，當更宣述耳。

Tao embarks on his study of Yang's revelations not simply to arrive at an accurate picture of the events of the fourth century but also to argue their relevance for an emperor contemplating building a compound on Maoshan. He persuades his sponsor of the benefits of this construction by recording his personal explorations of the territory. In the following commentary, Tao first acknowledges his failure to locate the cinnabar powder mentioned in the revelations, but he identifies sites near his own residence suitable for future construction projects.

There are now many large stones to the north and south of this ridge, but I have not found any running springs to the east or west. There is a brook further down the mountain on the southeastern side, as well as a rivulet to the southwest. Moving south from this peak, you will arrive at my residence. There is a bubbling spring on the mountainside nearby that flows year-round. There is no noticeable red tint to this water. There are many glades where one could live, but only the sites on the eastern and western sides will [function] well as [your residence] since they are near [running] brooks.¹¹⁹

今此嶺前後甚多大石，而山上左右無正流水。東南近下有一長澗，西南近下亦有小水，度嶺南隱居住處。近山上有湧泉，冬夏無窮，而水色不甚覺赤耳。平處可住，東西唯當近澗，左右為好。

¹¹⁸ DZ 1016, 11.14b [SKKK, 421].

¹¹⁹ DZ 1016, 11.10a [SKKK, 416].

For Tao, Yang's revelations serve as written proof that construction was a possible and beneficial endeavor for his patron. Armed with the authentic manuscripts written by Xu Mi and Yang Xi, Tao represents himself as the ideal person to undertake such a project. But Tao's vision for construction at Maoshan includes much more than the addition of a new compound; it includes larger infrastructural changes as well. Tao complains about the current system of roads directing travelers into the heart of holy sites featured in the revelations.

It is a real shame that not far from the place that leads to the space is a well-traveled road. The rumbling of carriages and the echoes of men are sounds you could do without. If you could block off this road, the sounds of men and their vehicles would quickly disappear. This is a top-notch location and we should think about how to make a more suitable [atmosphere]. My current abode, as well as the Southern Cave entrance and the senior administrator [Xu's] residence are the best locations to live on this mountain.¹²⁰ It is too bad they are out in the middle of nowhere.¹²¹

正患去徑路近，車聲人響，殆欲相聞。今若斷此路，不復聽車聲人行。便是第一處，方當思為其宜，茅山住止，惟有隱居今所住，及南洞口，長史宅處乃極好。所恨迴曠。

By juxtaposing his representation of Xu's compound with his own building projects and those of Maoshan's illicit temples, Tao facilitates a perception of these sacred sites that is both dynamic and diachronic. Tao not only details where Xu's compound was likely located but also provides readers a detailed survey of the mountain, identifying other kinds of development necessary to transform Maoshan into a superior ritual place. By understanding how Tao describes his construction projects at Maoshan—both those completed and those designed for the future—we understand Tao's "Pivot" as a strategy to bolster his status as Maoshan's preeminent developer.

¹²⁰ The grammar of this sentence would suggest that the "Southern Cave entrance" modifies Xu Mi's hermitage, a reading that Yoshikawa and Mugitani adopt. But other parts of Tao's commentary make it clear he understood the hermitage to be located in the northwest quadrant of Maoshan. I have inserted a break between the Southern Cave and Xu Mi's hermitage to resolve this problem.

¹²¹ DZ 1016, 11.10b [SKKK, 416–17].

Conclusion

This chapter introduces two written representations of temple institutions built at Maoshan. The first is a cluster of revelations composed by Yang Xi in the mid-fourth century for his sponsor, Xu Mi. Yang writes that if Xu seeks blessings for the entire Xu family (both living and dead), then Xu must follow a divine injunction to build a temple compound atop Maoshan. The extant documents of Yang and Xu reflect the kind of negotiations between advisor and sponsor, and they highlight Yang's positioning of himself as the expert in geography and architecture needed to undertake this construction project. The second group of texts was composed by Tao Hongjing, who circulated his commentary to Yang's revelations among prospective sponsors—most notably Liang Emperor Wu—at the turn of the sixth century. While Tao, like Yang, promotes the revelations as a kind of map for the emperor to consider in building at Maoshan, Tao's reclamation of Yang's ruins was not a simple reconstruction of the past. Rather, Tao draws on these historical documents to justify his eradication of competing institutions at Maoshan and establish himself as the mountain's preeminent abbot.

This chapter delineates the different social, ritual, and textual contexts under which Yang and Tao composed their respective texts. Despite these differences, I demonstrate that there are common rhetorical modes both writers use to represent their enterprises. Both men overlay their future plans for construction at Maoshan above the physical traces of practitioners who had formerly lived on the mountain. For both Yang and Tao, the past served to justify their present endeavors while they drew contrasts that highlighted their projects as superior to those which had come before. Whereas previous studies have focused on the authorship of these texts in terms of religious doctrine, this chapter introduces a new angle: Yang and Tao as religious entrepreneurs, would-be leaders of revivalist movements,

who write to potential sponsors in support of future building projects. Both Yang and Tao juxtapose the past and future to justify the actions they wish to pursue, construct the authority to pursue them, and highlight the merits of sponsoring such programs.

Focusing exclusively on the written representation of Maoshan in this first chapter might suggest that the rhetorical strategies in these texts were particular to Maoshan or perhaps to Daoist writers. The subsequent chapters of this study will analyze other writings from this era and will demonstrate that these rhetorical strategies were omnipresent in early medieval society. I shall further show that early Buddhist and Daoist writers adapted their representations of ritual architecture from earlier notions of temples developed in ancient China.

CHAPTER 2

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE AS A GROUND OF DISPUTE

The previous chapter, which focused on the representations of Maoshan architecture in the writings of Yang Xi and Tao Hongjing, is certainly not the first scholarly study of these texts. Early historians of Daoism such as CHEN Guofu 陳國符, Rolf Stein, and FUKUI Kōjun 福井康順 all identified the descriptions of Yang's ritual compound as an early source concerning the construction of Daoist architecture.¹ More recently, scholars have utilized the early Maoshan texts to evidence the increasing size and complexity of Daoist institutions of this period. Livia Kohn, for example, cites these accounts of Maoshan architecture as two points in the formation of Daoist institutions. Daoist communities, Kohn writes, began with the construction of elementary oratory and by the fifth century had become “formal Daoist place[s] of retreat” with community halls for large assemblies.²

Generally considering the historical unfolding of the medieval Daoist institution, I would argue that it began with the elementary oratory, the personal hermitage or meditation hut of immortality seekers, which then grew into their repentance and prayer room of the Celestial Masters and the elixir chamber of alchemical practitioners. In the fifth century, it became a formal Daoist place of retreat. Combined with the community halls for large assemblies, these oratories formed the backbone of the fully developed monastery—the more public and communal buildings in the center, the more personal and individual hermitages on the periphery.³

¹ Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 334–35; Stein, “Remarques sur les mouvements,” 15–17, 38; Fukui, *Dōkyō no kisoteki kenkyū*, 57–58. Also see FU Qinjia's 傅勤家 *Zhongguo Daojiao shi*, 56.

² For more on the progression from small huts to large-scale institutions, see Hahn, “The Standard Taoist Mountain,” 146; Hu, *Daojiao gongguan*.

³ Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism*, 109. Kohn makes a similar argument in “A Home for the Immortals,” 90–92.

Kohn's outline of the development of Daoist compounds excels in its recognition that these institutions were not composed of a single, fixed architectural form but combined various features in increasingly complex ways. Kohn's study, however, is less helpful in determining who instigated the establishment of these "formal Daoist places" and how these expanded venues were relevant for practitioners in ways that the "elementary oratory" was not. While studies like Kohn's have increased our awareness of the variety of architectural forms in early medieval Daoism, no one has determined what social contexts made these new ritual places relevant and meaningful for early medieval readers. More simply put, why would readers in the fourth through sixth centuries even care about the construction of ritual architecture?

This chapter argues that understanding why texts like Yang's revelations or Tao's commentary about temple construction appealed to readers requires an analysis of the competing ideas circulating among readers in this era. The written representation of Maoshan architecture, after all, did not emerge from thin air but was rooted in cultural assumptions about the benefits that sponsors might procure by donating funds for the construction of these compounds. Much about these perceived benefits of temple construction can be gleaned from Buddhist scriptures circulating among readers in southeastern China. As early as the second century CE, translators of Buddhist texts wrote about the advantages of sponsoring temple construction. These texts, which mostly describe events taking place in ancient India, help reveal the kinds of expectations of why and how aristocratic could (and arguably should) sponsor lavish temples.

There are also competing ideas about the necessity of ritual architecture found within the texts written about Maoshan. In the scriptures and hagiographies written over the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, there are descriptions of a wide variety of places for rites to be conducted inside a compound as well as outdoors. A close analysis of the representation of

these different places offers valuable evidence of how writers increasingly argued for the necessity of temple construction. The texts demonstrate that architecture was not a constant element of Daoist practice in this period, but writers increasingly persuaded readers to accept its importance. The “formalization” of Daoist architecture, as Kohn puts it, was not the extension of a practice already in place but was the process of negotiation by which architecture was installed as a constituent part of religious Daoism.

My attention to the argumentative dimension of Buddhist and Daoist representation of architecture owes a great deal to recent studies of how early medieval writers imbued scriptures with new context and thereby rendered new meanings.⁴ Of all these studies, I have found Bernard Faure’s characterization of temple construction in the medieval era particularly helpful. Faure demonstrates that changes in the identities of Chinese temples were accompanied by argumentative stances in which writers positioned themselves through new ideas about the history of sacred sites. Faure studies the founding of Buddhist monasteries in China and notes that Buddhist monks significantly altered the religious topography of China by converting or subduing the local deities. From these stories, Faure characterizes the introduction of Buddhist sacred sites in China as reflecting tension between the universal doctrine of Buddhism and the localized beliefs of popular religion. Faure recognizes that the construction of Buddhist sites was not simple displacement of one religious tradition with another but rather a byproduct of debate between two different visions of space.⁵ From Faure’s study, I understand the texts describing Daoist compounds not as unilateral descriptions of what these places *really* looked like but as responses to conflicting (and often lost) visions about the identity and history of a place.

This chapter explores the argumentative nature of writings about sacred sites by rethinking the circumstances surrounding the building of Daoist institutions in the fourth and

⁴ See especially Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 100; Campany, *Making Transcendents*, 217–23.

⁵ Faure, “Space and Place,” 343–45.

fifth centuries. I first study the written representation of ancient Indian compounds in the Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures. I bracket questions about the historical accuracy of these texts to highlight the kinds of conceptions that Chinese writers attached to ritual architecture in this era. I demonstrate that Chinese writers long before Yang Xi had developed complex ways of relating these compounds' sponsorship and utilization. I maintain that these texts reflect prevailing social conventions and readers' expectations about the benefits of sponsoring ritual architecture in this era.

The second and third parts of this chapter analyze how similar values of ritual architecture were adapted and refashioned in the early writing of Daoist architecture. I first provide an inventory of alternative ritual places that Yang Xi described in addition to the writings studied in the first chapter. Unlike Kohn, who asserts that Daoist institutions developed seamlessly (and seemingly without human intervention) from the oratory, I argue that Yang Xi envisioned building architectural compounds as one option within a larger repertoire of spatial possibilities. In rituals where he integrated outdoor and indoor ritual practice, for example, Yang was an advocate for practicing meditation in a wide range of scenarios. The final part of this chapter examines the understudied hagiography of Pei Xuanren, a fifth- or sixth-century adaptation of an earlier text. I study the various textual layers of Pei's hagiography and argue that it reflects the ideas of early medieval writers who argued for the primacy of architecture. By drawing attention to the shifting spatial conventions in early Buddhist and Daoist texts, this chapter situates the Maoshan temple among competing ideas concerning the utility of ritual architecture in early medieval China.

(2.1) *Ancient Buddhist Architecture in Translation*

Historians characterize the introduction of Buddhist ideas in China as a time when early Buddhist practitioners introduced a new kind of temple institution, the monastery. Unlike ancient temples, which were exclusive clubs with membership determined by familial and fraternal bonds, Buddhist temples were, at least in theory, open to all. In addition, these coenobitic centers were instrumental in revolutionizing economic and agricultural reforms throughout the country. One of the early names for Buddhist monasteries, *si* 寺 (“bureau”) or *siyuan* 寺院 (“bureau courtyard”) indicate that the earliest communities were established within or renovated from old office buildings. Aside from occasional cave inscriptions and hagiographies, relatively few extant texts written prior to the fifth century describe Buddhist monasteries as they were built in China.⁶

Despite the lack of early descriptions of Chinese Buddhist institutions, there are dozens of instances in which early translators wrote about the circumstances surrounding the construction of monasteries in ancient India. The written representations of the Indian monasteries present us with a curious body of evidence for studying the Buddhist institutions of China. On the one hand, these stories are nearly useless as indicators for what compounds may have looked like in China. The translators of these narratives tell about events imagined to have occurred not only in distant lands but also many centuries in the past. Nevertheless, such written evidence reflects the kinds of strategies early Buddhist translators of China deployed to justify to readers the therapeutic and soteriological effects of monastic architecture.

⁶ One of the earliest representations of a Chinese monastery is found in *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 [A new account of the tales of the world], a collection of stories by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–44 CE). Liu describes how the monk Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵 (fl. 325–43 CE) built a “concentrative dwelling” (*jīngshè* 精舍) beside a mountain range to study and lecture about Buddhist scriptures. *Shishuo xinyu*, 18.360; Mather, *A New Account of Tales*, 360.

Many of the earliest Buddhist compounds in China were called *jīngshe* 精舍 (“concentrative dwelling”), a term nearly homophonous to the name Yang often applied to Xu’s quiescent dwelling (*jīngshe*). The term “concentrative dwelling” predated Yang’s revelations by many centuries, as it was a common word referring to academies of classical learning as well as to Buddhist monasteries.⁷ There was also a great degree of semantic overlap between these terms, as *jìng* and *jīng* both describe states of consciousness involved with concentrating (*jīng*) or quieting (*jìng*) one’s mind during meditation. The two terms appeared together in the treatise *Neiye* 內業 [Inner enterprise] featured in the *Guanzi*, a first-century BCE compilation of philosophical texts. In this text, the author describes how a person can quiet (*jìng*) his or her mind by transforming their bodies into a concentrative dwelling. Thus, in its early appearance, concentrative dwelling represented the human body as tranquil vessel primed for meditative states of consciousness.⁸

The pivot of man is quiescence (<i>jìng</i>). . .	人主安靜.....
For this reason, the sage—	是故聖人
Adapts with the times but is not transformed,	與時變而不化
Moves along with things but is not moved by them.	從物而不移
[If] he is able to be both balanced and tranquil (<i>jìng</i>)	能正能靜
He may then become settled.	然後能定
With a settled heart within,	定心在中
His eyes and ears are keen and clear,	耳目聰明
His four limbs are strong and firm.	四枝堅固
He is fit to make a “concentrative dwelling.” ⁹	可以為精舍

⁷ For more on the relevant linguistic categories to which *jīng* and *jìng* belonged, see Ting, *Chinese Phonology*, 131–38. According to phonological glosses of the Tang dynasty, *jīng* and *jìng* differed in tone and initial; *jīng* was unvoiced and *jìng* had a voiced initial. Baxter’s transliterates these two characters *tsjeng* and *dzjengX*.

⁸ While the *Guanzi* it is the *locus classicus* for the term *jīngshe*, earlier writers used homophonous terms like quietude (*jìng*) and essence (*jīng*) to describe meditative states of consciousness. Zhuangzi, for instance, writes that adepts might perceive the mysterious qualities of the Perfect Way as follows: “Let your eyes see nothing, your ears hear nothing. Embrace the gods within you with quietude (*jìng*) and the body will right itself. Be still (*jìng*), be pure, do not labor your body, do not churn up your essence (*jīng*), and then you can live a long life.” 无視无聽，抱神以靜，形將自正。必靜必清，无勞女形，无搖女精，乃可以長生。 *Zhuangzi jiaoquan*, 11.390. Translation based on Ware, *The Sayings of Chuang Tzu*, 116.

⁹ *Guanzi jiaoshi*, 49.400–01; Sun, “Jingshe kao,” 119. Translation is adapted from Eno, “The Inner Enterprise,” 5–6. I have also consulted Rickett, *Guanzi*, 2.43. The extra syllable in the last line of this passage breaks the parallel construction of the tetrasyllabic couplet. Since *gu* 固 and *she* 舍 rhyme in ancient Chinese (*kay* and *st’jay*) it is likely that this extra syllable was added for rhetorical emphasis and was not the result of

Within a century after the term “concentrative dwelling” appeared in *Guanzi*, writers often applied it to refer to the physical location where individuals enter into deeper states of consciousness, locations beyond the personal body. By the first century CE, for instance, teachers established private academies called concentrative dwelling for the study and exegesis of ancient texts. At least twenty-two of these academies are known to have existed in the later part of the Han dynasty. Most of these academies focused on the instruction of ancient odes (*shi* 詩) such as that presided over by Liu Shu 劉淑, who founded an academy in a remote location and taught ancient rhetoric to hundreds of disciples.¹⁰

[Liu] Shu was well versed in the Five Classics. He led a life in seclusion where he established a concentrative dwelling in which he regularly gave lectures. His students numbered in the hundreds.¹¹

淑少學明五經。遂隱居，立精舍講授。諸生常數百人。

While concentrative dwelling might have originated as a name for communities devoted to the study of classical texts, early translators of Buddhist scriptures used this term when translating Sanskrit words for the monastic compounds of ancient India, where the historical Buddha lived and instructed his disciples. Comparisons of Chinese and Indic texts suggest that early translators used “concentrative dwelling” to translate *vihāra* (“a place of recreation where one can leisurely roam about”), one of two Sanskrit terms referring to monastic residences in Buddhist scripture.¹² But concentrative dwelling was not the first choice of

later emendation by later editors. Also see the later philosophical text, the *Guiguzi* 鬼谷子, in which the author speaks about the mind (*xin* 心) as the dwelling place (*she*) for a person’s spirits (*shen* 神). See *Guiguzi jijiao jizhu*, 198; Broschat, “*Guiguzi*,” 190–92.

¹⁰ For a complete list of these academies, see Kasuga, “Shōja kō,” 133–34.

¹¹ *HHS*, 67.2190; Kasuga, “Shōja kō,” 129.

¹² The other Sanskrit term common in Buddhist scriptures is *saṅghārāma* (“a resting place for a company of monks”), a term transliterated in Chinese as *qielan* 伽藍, *sengqielanmo* 僧伽藍摩, and *sengqielan* 僧伽藍. This term was alternatively translated as *yuan* 園 (“garden”), *zhongyuan* 眾園 (“assembly of the garden”), and *sengyuan* 僧園 (“monk garden”). See Kasuga, “Shōja kō,” 134. One of the earliest uses of *qielan* was in Zhi Qian’s collection of *avādana* tales, the *Zhuanji baiyuan jing* 撰集百緣經 [Scripture of the collected hundred avādana], where the phrase refers to a dormitory built for a community of nuns: “The girl then left home to become a nun. Her parents then built a residence (*sengqielan*) on her behalf and invited a community of

translators; second- and third-century translators used terms like *she* 舍 (“dwelling”), *lushe* 廬舍 (“shanty dwelling”), *youxingchu* 遊行處 (“place of recreation”) to describe these compounds.¹³ In the earliest translations, all of these words described the living quarters of the monastery, as opposed to the stupas (*ta* 塔), lecture halls (*jiangtang* 講堂), or the entire monastic complex (*si* 寺). In *Foshuo taizi ruiying benqi jing* 佛說太子瑞應本起經 [The scripture of the auspicious origins of the prince as spoken by the Buddha], for example, Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222–53) records that five hundred monks studying under Śākyamuni’s disciples, Natijiaye 那提迦葉 (Nadī-Kāśyapa) and Jieyijiaye 竭夷迦葉, lived at a compound of small huts along a riverbank.

The two disciples had two hundred fifty disciples each, and their rows of shanty dwellings in which they live [lined] the river banks.¹⁴

二弟各有二百五十弟子，廬舍列居水邊。

The early Chinese Buddhist texts often feature narratives in which property owners in India donated private residences to be converted into monasteries. While all of these stories reportedly took place six centuries earlier in India, these narratives nevertheless reflect the

nuns to come live with her inside the compound (*si*).” 遂便出家作比丘尼。時彼父母，為此女故，造僧伽藍，又請諸比丘尼，共住寺中。T 200, 4.225c.

¹³ It is unclear if the first appearance of “concentrative dwelling” in the Chinese Buddhist lexicon was in the second or third century. It appears in *Foshuo wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 佛說無量清淨平等覺經 [Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra], a text attributed to Lokakṣema (fl. 180 CE), where the author describes a lecture hall and dormitory built in a different Buddha realm. The relevant passage reads, “The place of the Immeasurable and Pure Buddha has a lecture hall from which he teaches and a concentrative dwelling. They were all spontaneously formed of the seven jewels—gold, silver, crystal, beryl, white jade (diamond?), amber, and agate—and form concentric circles.” 無量清淨佛所可教授講堂、精舍，皆復自然七寶——金，銀，水精，琉璃，白玉，虎珀，車璫——自共轉相成也。T 361, 12.283b. More recently, scholars have concluded this text should be attributed to Baiyan 帛延 (fl. 258) or Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313). Any of these possibilities would predate the Daoist use of the term.

¹⁴ T 185, 3.482c. Ancient Chinese writers used the term *she* 舍 and *lu* 廬 to describe an outbuilding or open shed built in the fields for farmers to store their tools and supplies (*Shiming shuzheng bu*, 5.19b). In the Han dynasty, writers used terms like *lu* and *lushe* 廬舍 to describe guesthouses and way stations used during long journeys. Both terms could also refer to temporary barracks used by soldiers as well as temporary lodging built near graves for mourners. By the early medieval period, the terms were applied to a variety of guest quarters, and Buddhist and Daoist writers use it in this sense when they call monasteries *lu*, *lushe*, and *jinglu* 精廬. DKW, 4.639b. In order to preserve the original image of a crudely constructed building in the countryside, I translate it as “shanty.”

expectations of readers (or perhaps even potential sponsors) considering similar conversions of Chinese estates. One of the earliest examples concerning the conversion of these compounds is found in Lokakṣema's (Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖, fl. late 170s–mid-180s)

Banzhou sanmei jing 般舟三昧經 [*Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*].

Lokakṣema writes that one of Buddha's disciples, Bhadrāpāla (Batuohē 跋陀和), was inspired to donate his home to serve as a new monastery for the Buddha and his band of followers.

Bhadrāpāla and the eight bodhisattvas, as well as all the fellow disciples, came before the Buddha for a communal meal. They told the Buddha that after the meal was finished they wished to travel alongside the Buddha. When the time came the Buddha and all of the monks donned their robes and took hold of their [alms] bowls. The entire assembly that had come to see the Buddha proceeded with him to Rājagṛha.¹⁵ When they arrived at the bodhisattva Bhadrāpāla's home, Bhadrāpāla had the following thought: "Because the Buddha has such a great power I should greatly expand my dwelling. I should make it out of beryl [gemstones] so all can see its façade and interior. Those [standing] outside the city walls can see within my dwelling and we can see the city walls from within my dwelling." The Buddha perceived Bhadrāpāla's wishes and used his miraculous powers to greatly expand Bhadrāpāla's dwelling. All the people of the country gathered to look inside the dwelling. Before the Buddha entered Bhadrāpāla's dwelling to sit [with the assembly], all the monks, nuns, and the upāsaka-upāsikā ("lay followers") sat together in their respective groups within Bhadrāpāla's dwelling.¹⁶

跋陀和與八菩薩，與諸宗親，以飯時俱往詣佛前。以頭面著佛足，却白佛言，飯食具以辦，願佛可行。時佛與比丘僧，皆著衣持鉢。俱詣來會者，皆隨行佛入羅閱祇國中。到跋陀和菩薩家，跋陀和菩薩作是念：「今佛威神故，令我舍極廣大。悉作琉璃，表裏悉相見。城外悉見我舍中，我舍中悉見城外。」佛即知跋陀和心所念，佛便放威神，令跋陀和舍極廣大。舉一國中人民，悉見於舍中。佛前入跋陀和菩薩家坐，比丘僧比丘尼，優婆塞優婆夷，各各異部悉坐於舍中。

¹⁵ *Luoyue* 羅閱 ("Rājagṛha") was the capital of Mōjiētuó 摩揭陀 ("Magadha"), one of the sixteen states in India during Śākyamuni's time. Its ruins are located in present-day Rājgir, Bihar. Also known by its translated title *Wangshe cheng* 王舍城 ("City of the princely dwelling"), this city was the site of many of the historical Buddha's sermons such as those at Vulture Peak (*Lingjiu shan* 靈鷲山) and the Veṇuvana-vihāra (*Zhulin jingshe* 竹林精舍). This town also served as the site of the First Council, a group of disciples who convened following Śākyamuni's death. *FGDC*, 1510.

¹⁶ *T* 418, 13.914c–15a. For more on the authorship of this text and a translation of the passage in a later Tibetan text, see Harrison, *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter*, xvii–xix, 131–33, 221–23.

The description of Bhadrapāla's conversion of his residence into a monastery also suggests that writers of early Buddhist scriptures envisioned the construction of religious architecture as an act occurring as the result of divine miracles. When Bhadrapāla aspired to transform his home and donate it as a monastery, the Buddha employed divine powers not only to perceive his disciple's intentions but also to instantly bring the project to fruition. Furthermore, the spectacular appearance of the completely transparent building also reflects early translators' conception of architecture as exceptional in form and capable of attracting the attention of onlookers. The conversion of aristocratic estates into meeting places for monks, nuns, and lay followers thus symbolized the exotericism and inclusiveness of the Buddha's teachings.

In addition to its miraculous qualities, early translators also stressed the therapeutic value of these temples, in particular meditation chambers. There is strong evidence that these translators drew upon notions about the power of ritual chambers already in circulation in China. YOSHIOKA Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, for example, has studied meditation rituals like the *shouyi* 守一 ("guarding the one") observing that similar chambers were likely in existence in China before the advent of early medieval Buddhism or Daoism. Yoshioka notes that the ancient philosopher Zhuangzi told a story about a Master Kengseng, who having mastered techniques of longevity, moved into the Weilei 畏壘 mountains. Here, Master Kengsang practiced rituals in a "ringed enclosure" (*huandu* 環堵), a small hut that Yang Xi mentioned in his blueprint for Maoshan. When the residents of the area wanted Kengseng to lead the communal sacrifices to the altars of soil and grain (*sheji* 社稷), Kengseng was greatly displeased. He argued that the bountiful harvests had nothing to do with his presence but was instead the way nature should be.

I was taught that a man in his highest form dwells corpse-like in his little "ringed enclosure" room, leaving people to their uncouth and uncaring ways, without knowing where they are going. But now these petty people of Weilei are whispering that they want to make sacrifices to me along

with their worthies. Am I to be held up as a model for men?¹⁷

吾聞至人，尸居環堵之室，而百姓猖狂不知所如往。今以畏壘之細民而竊竊焉欲俎豆予于賢人之間。我其杓之人邪？

While the above passage makes it clear that ancient writers were aware of analogous meditation chambers, the description of the “ringed enclosure” is too brief to offer conclusive evidence of what chambers may have looked like in ancient China. Nevertheless, it appears likely that the roots of ritual chambers are ancient, given the recent findings of YOSHIKAWA Tadao 吉川忠夫, who has analyzed Han texts in which aristocrats are depicted as building small annexes next to their houses for ritual activities. Yoshikawa highlights a passage from Wang Chong’s *Lunheng* containing a warning against building an annex on the west side of a house, as it would bring about misfortune. Wang Chong couples his admonition with a story about Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 (494–468 BCE), who planned to add an annex to his residence until a court astrologer (*shi* 史) warned him that such a plan was unpropitious.¹⁸ Similar notions concerning the prohibitions against building to the western side of the house are found in Ying Shao’s 應劭 (140–206 CE) *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 [Comprehensive meaning of customs], in which Ying identifies the western part of a house as a space reserved for ancestors and thus inappropriate to develop for one’s own use.¹⁹

The perceived ancient origins of ritual chambers are also bolstered by the writings of early Buddhist translators, who likewise depict the meditation chamber as an architectural feature prevalent in ancient India. In the *Zhongben qi jing* 中本起經 [Middle-length scripture

¹⁷ Zhuangzi *jiaquan*, 23.856; Ware, *The Sayings of Chuang Tzu*, 278; Yoshikawa, “Seishitsu kō” 129–30.

¹⁸ Forke, *Lun-heng*, 2.376–77.

¹⁹ *Fengsu tongyi jiaozhu*, 562; *YWLJ*, 64.1142; *TPYL*, 180.4b [p. 1005]. While these ancient texts have little to do with meditative rituals, Yoshikawa asserts that earlier notions about the relationship between architectural design and the veneration of ancestors played a significant role in how Daoist priests utilized ritual chambers. In the eighth-century *Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao* 要修科儀戒律鈔 [Summary of key ceremonies and precepts for practice], the author writes, “If Daoist practitioners are to undergo transformation then each one will need to build a silent chamber at their house. Build it on the west [side of your residence] facing eastward and place an incense burner at the base of the western wall.” 道民入化，家家各立靖室。在西向東，安一香火西壁下。 *DZ* 463, 10.4a [*ZHDZ*, 42.208].

on former events], translators Tan Guo 曇果 and Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 (ca. 200 CE) write about a Vedic sage, Kāśyapa (*jiashe* 迦葉), who constructed a chamber alongside a river.²⁰ In this story, Kāśyapa, a Brahmanic priest, secluded himself in a room and beckoned an evil serpent into his chamber; he coaxed the dragon to protect rather than harm him.

[Kāśyapa] set out to search for a dragon through the use of his [ritual] arts. He built a silent chamber and harnessing the dragon inside saying, “If anyone precipitously comes into the silent chamber, you should spit fire and issue poison to destroy them.”²¹

便行求龍，以術致之。為作靖室，而鞠龍曰：「若有輕突入靖室者，吐火出毒。」

In addition to the ancient examples of purification rituals of the oratories, Buddhist writers asserted that these chambers were of central importance to the Buddhist community during the lifetime of the historical Buddha. Meditating in a chamber not only cleansed minds, but such a room was conceived as a site in which practitioners could eradicate sickness from their bodies. In the *Bimo shi mulian jing* 弊魔試目連經 [The scripture of the evil demon who tested Maudgalyāyana; T 67], Zhi Qian tells a story about one of the Buddha’s disciples, Maudgalyāyana, who sequestered himself in a chamber to discern what evil spirit had recently caused his sickness.

At the time the [Buddha’s] disciple Maudgalyāyana was walking in the dead of night.²² He traveled by a flat road on his way to and from [Deer Park]. It was at that point that an evil demon came to where the Buddha was staying, and transformed himself into ray of penetrating light; it struck Maud[galyāyana]’s belly. The practitioner Maudgalyāyana [said], “Why

²⁰ For more on the dating of the scripture, see Nattier, *A Guide*, 104–09.

²¹ T 196, 4.149c–50a; Yoshioka, *Dōkyō to Bukkyō* (vol. 3), 344. Yoshioka also notes a passage from the *Shi moheyan lun* 釋摩訶衍論 [Explanation of the treatise on mahāyāna] containing a list of the ten components necessary for the construction of a dwelling hermitage (*shezhai* 舍宅). T 1668, 32.655c–56a. Given the likelihood that this was written a few centuries later than what Yoshioka thought (see Buswell, *The Formation of Ch’an Ideology*, 171–76), I have ignored this passage.

²² It is possible that this sentence connoted that Maudgalyāyana was walking deep in meditation. *Mingzhong* 冥中, which often referred to the netherworld or an otherworldly places, could be synonymous with *mingxiang* 冥想 (“contemplation”), a word that as early as the *Zhuangzi* referred to focusing the mind in meditation. See *DKW*, 2.131a–c. *Jingxing* (“to walk around”) is also a common phrase describing being mindful of the Buddhist teachings while in motion rather than seated (*zuo* 坐) meditation. For more on the early use of *jingxing*, see T 21, 1.265c.

has thunder [suddenly] rang out in my belly? It is as if I was a starving person who was carrying a double load [of goods] on my shoulders. I should quickly enter my chamber and enter into a deep state of *samādhi* (“meditative concentration”) so that I can inspect the origins [of this pang].” Thereupon Maud[galyāyana] entered his chamber and observed his body through *samādhi*. He next saw the evil demon that had transformed into a ray of penetrating light and entered his belly. He then called unto [the demon] saying, “Evil Demon! Get out! Get out! May you no longer bewitch the Buddha and his disciples, and may no being hereafter fall into your trap of evil pleasures.”²³

爾時，賢者大目乾連，夜於冥中經行。由於平路經行往返。於時，弊魔往詣佛所，自化微景入目連腹中。賢者大目乾連：「吾腹何故而作雷鳴？猶如飢人而負重擔。吾將入室正受三昧，觀察其源。」於是目連即入其室三昧觀身，即時覩見弊魔作化微景入其腹中。即謂之曰：「弊魔！且出且出！莫嬈如來及其弟子，將無長夜獲苦不安墜于惡趣。」

Whereas the early representations of ritual chambers focused on its use by priests and close disciples of the Buddha, by the turn of the fourth century, translators conceived of these rooms as accessible to all people. In *Da loutan jing* 大樓炭經, for instance, Dharmīlōkā (Fajū 法炬, fl. 290–306 CE) and Fālī 法立 (290–311 CE) describe how the Buddha encouraged all people afflicted by illness to draw upon the healing powers of a chamber. The Buddha relates the story of a person plagued by malignant tumors who was healed completely after meditating indoors.

At that time there was a person who told me the following: “I have a severe illness and plagued by malignant tumors. I want to give up all I have and enter into an empty chamber where I can sit [in meditation].” He then [tried] to rid himself of his malignant tumors by [finding] an empty room [so he could] sit and meditate on enlightenment. He began in the morning of the first day and by the morning of the second day he went into [the nearby] village for food given alms. When people saw him they were overjoyed [that he had been healed]. The man told them that, “It is amazing! I was able to overcome my malignant tumors by relinquishing all I owned and entering a quiet room where I meditated on enlightenment.”²⁴

爾時，人民念言：『我為著疾病著腫著瘡，我欲棄一切著，往入空閑處室中坐。』即棄捐著疾病腫瘡，往入空閑處，坐思念道。今日早起

²³ T 67, 1.867a.

²⁴ T 23, 1.309a–b.

，明旦日早起，行入丘聚分衛。人民見之，皆歡喜與之，人民便言：『善哉！乃棄捨疾病腫瘡，捐一切著，往入空閑處，坐思念道。』

In addition to having healing powers, early translators envisioned indoor rituals as practices enabling a practitioner to acquire miraculous mental faculties. In his early fourth-century *Zhengfa hua jing* 正法華經 [Lotus sūtra], for example, Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313) describes how the Buddha entered a chamber for a prolonged period of time and traveled throughout various world systems. Only by sequestering himself in the chamber, writes Dharmarakṣa, could the Buddha reach enlightenment.

Having already preached all in this scripture, [the Buddha] entered his quiescent chamber and meditated in a samādhi trance. He focused his mind for eight hundred forty thousand kalpas. Seeing that the World Hero and Venerated Master fixed his thoughts like this all of the śrāmaṇeras looked with great hope for this Great Sage who sat in his quiescent chamber and never left. [These sixteen disciples] went about transforming people by the billions.²⁵

於時適說斯之經典。則入靜室三昧等觀。八十四萬劫中澹然。世雄尊師定意如斯，時諸沙彌觀瞻大聖，在於靜室而不出遊。開化人民，無數億千。

Early translators insisted that individuals who built these ritual compounds would gain spiritual benefits simply by funding their construction. Ideas about the sponsorship of monasteries are most apparent in texts where authors write about the circumstances through which aristocratic villas in India were converted into monasteries. Zhi Qian's *Foshuo bojing chao* 佛說孃經抄 [Excerpts from the *bo-jataka* scripture as spoken by the Buddha], for example, focused exclusively on the donation of a private park and garden space at Jetavana for the building of a monastery. Unlike Bhadrupāla, a disciple of the Buddha, the key sponsor of the Jetavana monastery, Sudatta, was a lay practitioner. Sudatta donated a plot of land that he had recently acquired for the specific purpose of building a monastery rather than simply

²⁵ T 263, 9.93c. I have profited greatly by consulting Leon Hurvitz's translation of Kumārajīva's text in *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom*, 152.

donating his family's property. Sudatta's estate is coincidentally one of the earliest instances where translators use the term "concentrative dwelling" to describe such compounds.

One time the [historical] Buddha was in Śrāvastī where a great magnate named Jeta had eighty *qing* of gardens and fields that were close to the city. The ground was flat and was covered in fruit trees. There were flowing springs and pools of water everywhere that were crystal clear . . . A local landholder named Sudatta . . . wanted to build a concentrative dwelling for the Buddha and traveled near and far [looking for the right site]. The only one he liked was Jeta's garden and he therefore requested to buy it. Prince Jeta said, "If you are able to cover the ground in gold so that there is not one empty space left, I will be willing to give it to you." Sudatta agreed to the price and began to calculate the cost.²⁶

一時佛在舍衛國，太子名祇，有園田八十頃，去城不遠。其地平正，多眾果樹。處處皆有流泉浴池，其池清淨.....居士須達.....欲為佛起精舍，周遍行地。唯祇園好，因從請買。太子祇言。能以黃金布地，令間無空者，便持相與。須達曰諾，聽隨買數。

Sudatta's acquisition of the grounds for the Jetavana Monastery reflects an increased interest among wealthy lay patrons who assisted in the construction of monasteries. This shift to emphasis on lay followers is more clearly seen in the translations of Buddhist scriptures produced in the late third and early fourth centuries. These later translators, who wrote only decades prior to Yang Xi, stress that participation in the construction of monasteries is an act generating vast amounts of merit. In the *Faju piyu jing* 法句譬喻經 [Dharmapāda], Dharmalōkā and Fali 法立 record that the Buddha taught how people must make sizable donations, such as sponsoring a monastic compound, if they expect to receive large amounts of merit in return. In this passage, "concentrative dwelling" is identified as a kind of residence to be distinguished from the devotional (stupa complex) and agricultural (fruit gardens) components of a temple compound. It is, however, unclear whether Dharmalōkā and Fali understand "concentrative dwelling" as a monk's living quarters or as encompassing other places where monks translated, studied, and lectured.

²⁶ T 790, 17.729a.

What does it mean to give a lot and receive many blessings? Imagine there is a sage who knows that the world is impermanent. With the best intentions this person uses his wealth to construct a stupa, a concentrative dwelling, and a fruit [tree] garden. He supports the Three Honored Ones (the Buddha, teachings, and community) with clothing, shoes, beds, and provisions. The merit [resulting from these actions] are [as great as] the five rivers flowing into the great sea, and the merit continued onward for many generations without end. This is what we mean by donating much and getting great karma in return.²⁷

何謂施多得福多者？若有賢者覺世無常。好心出財起立塔寺，精舍，菓園。供養三尊衣服，履屣，床榻，厨膳。斯福如五河流入於大海，福流如是世世不斷。是為施多其報轉多。

By the early fourth century, the donation of funds for the construction of monasteries did not simply earn merit for sponsors but was understood as an activity required of wealthy sponsors seeking liberation. Writers of Buddhist scriptures claimed an aristocrat's wealth resulted from the piety that these rich individuals had displayed in their previous lives. Furthermore, building monasteries was an effective way in which rich sponsors expressed their gratitude for the Buddha's teachings and consequently drew nearer to Buddhist liberation during their earthly existence. In *Fo shuo jue ding zongchi jing* 佛說決定總持經 [The *dhāraṇī* scripture on judgment as preached by the Buddha], Dharmarakṣa stresses the Buddha's teachings about prominent political leaders, whose power was indicative of the great devotion in previous lives. Dharmarakṣa describes a great king who lived thirty-three eons prior and ended up attaining Buddhahood due to his construction of an entire network of monasteries:

For those living in this world as great magnates or wealthy individuals it is because they have begun their studies after the Buddha's liberation. They should make merit for the World Honored One [i.e., the Buddha of that age] with five hundred stupa complexes, lecture halls, and concentrative dwellings. If any monks need material donations, they should be supplied in full. Within each concentrative dwelling of the stupa complexes there will be hundreds of thousands of monks stopping their travels in this place.²⁸

²⁷ T 211, 4.589c. I have consulted the translation of this passage in Willemen, *The Scriptural Text*, 99–100.

²⁸ T 811, 17.771b.

在於彼世，為大豪貴長者作子，佛滅度後處於末學。為其世尊興立功德，五百塔寺講堂精舍。以若干種供養之具，而用給足諸比丘僧。一塔寺所有精舍，百千比丘遊居其中。

The above stories from early Buddhist narratives are of little use as direct sources about the kind of compounds built in China in the second through fifth centuries.

Nevertheless, these accounts of ancient Indian sources offer us insight into the kind of ideas about monastic compounds that interested those writing, translating, and reading the stories.

These translators were immensely interested in the sponsorship of monasteries. Writers of these scriptures assert that sponsors would gain spiritual rewards simply by donating their resources, and they represent donors as gaining vast amounts of merit through the

construction of compounds. It is in this regard that we find ideas closely analogous to those expressed in the writings of Yang Xi and Tao Hongjing, who both persuaded their

prospective clients about the benefits of constructing ritual compounds. In order to ascertain how these Daoist writers might have applied or adapted these ideas, it is necessary to

determine more about what other kinds of ritual places were popular when Buddhist translators first offered new models and ways of thinking of ritual place among Chinese

readers. Daoist texts such as Yang's revelations and scriptures, in other words, offer unparalleled insight into how Indian compounds might have been relevant to readers in China.

(2.2) Alternative Ritual Places in Early Medieval Daoism

Despite advances in the study of early Daoist architecture, no one has yet analyzed what made the construction of a ritual chamber distinct—what, in other words, could adepts accomplish indoors that other locations could not achieve? Given that Yang Xi emphasized the importance of his “quiescent chamber,” it is easy to forget this meditation chamber was one option among a host of ritual places prescribed in the Shangqing Revelations. Both Yang

Xi and his predecessor, Hua Qiao, wrote in detail about at least three other kinds of ritual places—caves, courtyards, and back chambers of adepts’ houses. The second part of this chapter analyzes passages featuring these alternative ritual places to determine how Yang’s quiescent chamber was distinguished among these other spatial possibilities.

(2.2.1) *Stone Chamber*

Yang Xi represented adepts practicing meditation and alchemy in caves, more commonly called “stone chambers” (*shishi* 石室). Yang featured these caves in narratives featuring former adepts who once lived at Maoshan and wrote that certain caves at Maoshan provided ideal places where one might attain liberation. Of particular interest to Yang was a cave on the southwestern face of the mountain where at least five men had formerly practiced.

To the southwest of Greater Mao Peak is Siping Peak, which is commonly known as Mount Fang. At its base is a cavernous chamber called *fangtai* (“square terrace”). It has two entrances that are both visible from the exterior. [This cavern] connects to Huayang [Grotto-Heaven] and [the deities at Huayang] call this place the “mysterious lodge of a separate home.” Many who have attained their Dao while living here. Zhang Zuchang, Liu Ping’e, Lü Zihua, Cai Tiansheng, and Long Bogao all lived at Fangtai.²⁹

大茅山之西南有四平山，俗中所謂方山者也。其下有洞室，名曰方臺。洞有兩口，見於山外也。與華陽通，號為別宇幽館矣。得道者處焉。其中先止者有張祖常，劉平阿，呂子華，蔡天生，龍伯高，並處于方臺矣。

It is unclear to what degree Yang intended such hagiographic vignettes to serve as models for Xu Mi. We know that Xu’s son, Xu Hui, conducted periodic sacrifices in the caves in the northern reaches of Maoshan, so perhaps Yang circulated these stories in an attempt to validate this kind of ritual practice. At the very least, Yang’s positive

²⁹ *DZ* 1016, 14.1a [SKKK, 506]. In his commentary to this passage, Tao claims that a likely location for Fangtai is a peak about six or seven *li* southwest of Greater Mao Peak. There were two caves at this site with springs flowing year-round; a group of Daoist priests lived nearby. Elsewhere in *Declarations*, Tao notes that Xu Hui frequently traveled to Fangtai prior to his death (*DZ* 1016, 20.9b–10a).

representation of the practitioners at Fangtai demonstrates that he envisioned caves as favorable places to engage in ascetic practice.³⁰ In fact, Yang often writes about caves as places that were home to some of Maoshan's most renowned adepts. Yang tells Xu about a man called Wu Mu 吳睦, who escaped from his life as a court scribe after being sentenced to death and found refuge with a certain Master Sun. In this narrative, Yang depicts practitioners at Maoshan as living in caves, and he asserts that life in these cavernous dwellings could have positive effects on residents, a fact bolstered by Wu Mu's transformation from a criminal into an obedient disciple.

After starving for many days [Wu Mu] came across a stone chamber where he saw Master Sun engaging in esoteric studies. To the left and right [of the chamber Sun] had planted millet and sesame, and his chamber was filled with food. [Wu] Mu begged the master for food. [Wu] remained here month after month and never left. Master Sun knew that Wu was a criminal, but from the beginning never asked him about it, but instead gave him food to eat. [In addition, Master Sun] recited scriptures and gave sermons in which he preached bad versus good fortune. Upon hearing this, [Wu] Mu was enlightened, and kowtowed and prostrated himself before the master explaining the circumstances bringing him [to the cave]. From then on he acted like a different person and sought to change his ways.³¹

餓經日，行至石室，遇見孫先生在室中隱學。左右種黍及胡麻，室中恒盈食。睦至乞食，經月不去。孫先生知是叛人，初不問之，與食料理，及誦經講道，說及禍福。睦聞之，於是心開意悟，因叩頭自搏，列其事源，立身所行，自首事實，求得改往。

Yang's enthusiasm for cave dwellings likely grew out of cultural assumptions about these locales detailed in the writings of Yang's third- and fourth-century predecessors. In his *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 [Traditions of divine transcendents], for example, Ge Hong records the lives of adepts who moved into caves in an effort to devote their energies to ascetic

³⁰ Also see the story of Chen Shijing 陳世京 (DZ 1016, 13.14b [SKKK, 492]), who Yang writes gained intermittent access to Maoshan's Grotto-Heaven. Xu Mi was also interested in gaining access to the Grotto-Heaven, but Yang deflected requests to identify entrances to these caverns on the grounds that Xu's postmortem rank made Maoshan's caves too insignificant for such a great man. The relevant passage reads: "While the trapped light [of this Grotto-Heaven] shines bright and sends the five planets into orbit, we are embarrassed by the cramped quarters of the floating phosphers of this lesser heaven. How could this possibly meet the expectation of a decorated chamberlain like yourself?" 嚮雖濤光正明，動回五象，固乞屈之夾觀，小天之浮景耳。何足桂卿司之至念。DZ 1016, 12.5a [SKKK, 442].

³¹ DZ 1016, 14.10b–11a [SKKK, 525].

practice. In the hagiography of Kong Yuanfang 孔元方, Ge describes an adept who abandoned his life as a Confucian scholar by moving to the mountains and boring a cave in a location that his disciples could never locate.³²

Elsewhere, Ge Hong represents caves as playing an active role in transmitting knowledge between masters and disciples. In the story of Bo He 帛和, Ge depicts an ascetic who started his quest to transcendence after accessing an underground grotto. After a long period of dedicated study, Bo traveled to western China and visited Lord Wang 王君 of Xicheng 西城. Lord Wang instructed Bo to stare at the wall of a cave, and, after he fixed his gaze on the wall for three years, the *Taiqing zhongjing* 太清中經 [Inner scripture of great clarity], formulas, maps, and chants appeared before Bo.³³ For Ge Hong, the stone chamber was not merely a backdrop where practitioners engaged in asceticism but rather was a kind of agent that could reveal texts and esoteric secrets.

Yang Xi, who wrote his revelations roughly five decades after Ge, similarly attributed miraculous powers to caves. Many of the revelations in *Declarations* featuring caves are found in a long cluster of revelations titled “Daoshou” 道授 [The transmissions of the Dao].³⁴ In one narrative from “Daoshou,” Yang describes Master Fu (Fu xiansheng 傅先生), who lived in a stone chamber atop Mount Jiao and underwent a series of tests in this cavern. When Fu had completed these tasks, he was presented with a divine elixir that enabled him to transcend the human world.

³² *Taiping guangji*, 9.61; Campany, *To Live*, 315. Only one young man, Ping Yu 憑遇, managed to discover Kong’s stone chamber. Kong responded by rewarding the young lad with two fascicles of silk texts.

³³ *TPYL*, 663.6b [p. 3091]; Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 75; Campany, *To Live*, 134–35; Steavu, “The Three Sovereigns,” 38n35. There is a great deal of uncertainty in early medieval texts on whether Lord Wang is the same figure as Wang Yuan 王遠 (Wang Fangping 王方平, fl. 146–95 CE) or Wang Bao 王褒 (fl. 73–49 BCE). For more on the multiple identities of Lord Wang, see Steavu, “The Three Sovereigns,” 44–50.

³⁴ It is possible that the revelations in “Daoshou” was written not by Yang Xi but his predecessor, Hua Qiao. Tao Hongjing postulates that “Daoshou” predated Yang’s revelations since the document was addressed from Pei Xuanren, one of the two deities who communicated to Xu Mi during Hua Qiao’s tenure. *DZ* 1016, 5.1a [SKKK, 178]. More recently, Isabelle Robinet (*La révélation du Shangqing*, 2.323–24) and Chang Chao-jan (“Xipu,” 147–49) identify traits of this text confirming Tao’s hypothesis. I am preparing a separate study of the authorship of the “Daoshou.”

There was a Master Fu of antiquity who was fond of the Dao from a young age. He moved to a stone chamber atop Mount Jiao and lived there for seven years until Lord Lao of Taiji paid him a visit. [Lord Lao] gave him a wooden drill and ordered [Fu] to cut through a large oval shaped stone that was at least five feet thick. [Lord Lao] said, “Carve out a basin and you will attain the Dao.” [Fu] carved day and night for forty-seven years when he finally finished. He then received a divine elixir, ascended to the Taiqing heavens, and became a perfected being on the southern marchmount.³⁵

昔有傅先生者，其少好道。入焦山石室中。積七年而太極老君詣之，與之木鑽，使穿一石盤，厚五尺許。云：『穿此盤，便當得道。』其人乃晝夜穿之，積四十七年，鑽盡石穿。遂得神丹，乃升太清，為南嶽真人。

Elsewhere in “Daoshou,” Yang features a pair of adepts practicing in a cave: master Sima Jizhu 司馬季主 and his disciple Fan Lingzi 范零子. As in the previous revelation, Yang describes the cave as the place in which the adept was subjected to a series of tests. While living in his cavern, Fan ultimately failed his tests because his thoughts constantly drifted away from his master’s instructions. In this story, the cave embodies the physical distance and separation that adepts must have kept if they were to achieve liberation.

Fan Lingzi was fond of the teachings (*Dao*) of transcendence from a young age and [practiced] for many years. Later in life he met Sima Jizhu just as the latter was preparing to move to Mount Chang. For seven years [these two men] lived in a cave that had a window cut out from the rock in the northeastern corner. When Jizhu would leave he told [Fan Lingzi], “Be very careful not to open this window.” [Jizhu] said this every time without fail. One time Lingzi opened [the window] really quick, looked down [the mountain], and saw an apparition of his father, mother, and his siblings. As they drew nearer [to Lingzi], he became most despondent. When Jizhu returned he sent [Lingzi] away.³⁶

范零子，少好仙道，如此積年。後遇司馬季主，季主將入常山中。積七年，入石室，東北角有石[片*聶]。季主出行，則語之曰：『慎勿開此。』如此數數非一。零子忽發視下，見其家父母大小。近而不遠，乃悲思。季主來還，乃遣之歸。。

The final instance of life in cave dwellings in “Daoshou” occurs in the story of Lord Zhou 周君, the adept who discovered the esoteric teachings of Dadong 大洞 (“Grand

³⁵ DZ 1016, 5.7b [SKKK, 193].

³⁶ DZ 1016, 5.16a–b [SKKK, 210].

Cavern”) while living in a stone chamber. Along with two of his brothers, Lord Zhou moved to a cave on Changshan 常山. After living on the mountain for ninety-seven years, a white-haired spirit appeared before them and began reciting seven fascicles of “white texts” (*sushu* 素書). The three brothers next recited the texts with great zeal, but when a deer suddenly appeared two of the brothers stopped their recitation. Lord Zhou, on the other hand, continued reciting as if nothing had happened. As was the case above, Yang depicts the stone chamber as an agent that could work either for or against the adept’s progress. In this case, the chamber spontaneously caught fire as a kind of punishment for Zhou’s brothers, who were unable to chant the scriptures with zeal.

Lord Zhou read the scripture a total of 10,000 times. The two brothers [abandoned the endeavor] after reciting it 9,733 times. Lord Zhou thereafter turned into a flying transcendent. [Upon seeing this] his two brothers began reciting the scripture again, but the stone chamber [where they were practicing] suddenly caught fire and the scriptures were destroyed. Even though the two men did not become transcendent they continued living on Changshan and traveled to the Five Marchmounts.³⁷

周君誦之萬過，二弟誦得九千七百三十三過。周君翻然飛仙。二弟取書誦之，石室忽有石爆成火燒去書。二人遂不得仙，今猶在常山中陸行五嶽也。

The three hagiographic vignettes from “Daoshou” suggest that Yang imagined stone chambers as residences where adepts underwent challenges testing their commitment to ascetic practices.³⁸ It is unclear from the passages concerning the stone chamber to what degree Yang urged Xu Mi to take up residence in these caves. Nevertheless, these narratives indicate that Yang and Xu understood many of their contemporaries on Maoshan to be living

³⁷ DZ 1016, 5.6a–b [SKKK, 192].

³⁸ Cave dwellings were one place in a larger repertoire of ritual places featured in “Daoshou.” In the hagiography of Zhuang Bowei 莊伯微, for instance, Zhuang attained godhood through daily visualizations of the Kunlun mountains. DZ 1016, 5.6b–7a [SKKK, 192–93]. In the story of Master Huangguan 黃觀子, who was tested at his home four dozen times before moving into the mountains. DZ 1016, 5.7b–8a [SKKK, 193]. Yang stressed that these tests were necessary only for individuals seeking status as transcendent beings. DZ 1016, 12.4a–b.

in caves. More importantly, adepts could successfully secure their liberation in these caves without the need of an architectural compound.

(2.2.2) *The Courtyard and Back Chamber*

Yang also writes a great deal in his scriptures about rituals that could be performed in the back chamber and courtyard (*ting* 庭). “Back chamber” translates *qinshi* 寢室, an ancient term meaning bedroom, but one which could also denote rooms of a palace more generally.³⁹ I have chosen *back chamber* rather than *bedroom* based on Yang Xi’s characterization of visualization exercises in which adepts produced mind-altering states of consciousness through envisioning various kinds of *qi* circulating through their bodies in these rooms. Yang describes how adepts should circulate three differently colored *qi* throughout their bodies, thereby creating the sensation that they were floating on air. According to Yang, adepts who choose to use these techniques in a *qin* should not engage in sexual activity in the “bedroom” (*fangshi* 房室). Such a distinction increases the likelihood that Yang understood the *qinshi* not as a bedroom but as a room of roughly the same size devoted to ritual use. Elsewhere Yang warns that the conflation of a back chamber and the bedroom would put adepts in grave danger.

To hold steadfast to the Way of the Mysterious White you should sit or lie [in meditation] each morning. Envision black *qi* within your Muddy Pellet [i.e., head], envision white *qi* within your heart, and envision yellow *qi* in your navel. Upon envisioning these three *qi* you will find them floating freely in your body like clouds. Make them turn into fire and [let] this fire encircle your body; [make this fire] penetrate all that is within and without [your body] so it becomes as one. If you practice this in the morning, you should stop by noon. You will inhale these *qi* one hundred twenty times by the time you finish. If this Dao is practiced correctly it will give you long

³⁹ *DKW*, 3.1086b; *WXL*, 396n329. It is possible that *qinshi* may have also described the rooms of a temple or ancestral shrine in ancient China like *qinmiao* 寢廟 and *qindian* 寢殿 (see Mao 198). I have not, however, located any text written prior to Yang’s revelations where *qinshi* is conceived as a ritual place.

life and drive off the myriad harms. Be sure to especially avoid eating meat or the five pungent roots. You should meditate apart [from others] in a back place. You should especially avoid bedroom [arts] since the “bedroom” will kill you.⁴⁰

守玄白之道。常旦旦坐臥任意。存泥丸中有黑氣。存心中有白氣。存臍中有黃氣。三氣俱生。如雲氣覆身。因變成火。火又繞身。身通洞徹。內外如一。旦行。至向中乃止。於是服氣一百二十。都畢。道正如此。使人長生不死。辟却萬害。尤禁六畜肉五辛之味。當別寢處靜思。尤忌房室，房室即死。

Just as Yang represented his “quiescent chamber” as an ancient ritual place, he also understands the back chamber not as a new invention but as a venue that had been in use for centuries. Yang circulated to Xu Mi hagiographic texts describing how adepts in antiquity had incorporated the back chamber into their practices with great success. The female adept Zhang Weizi 張微子, for example, utilized the back chamber during the reign of Han Emperor Zhao (Liu Fuling 劉弗陵, r. 86–74 BCE), and Yang asserts that by using the back chamber Zhang caused a female deity to come to her aid. Zhang, Yang writes, had recently attained a managerial position in Maoshan’s Grotto-Heaven based on her meditative practice.

Weizi constantly ingested foggy *qi*. She once said, “Foggy *qi* is the essence of the water and fire [produced in] mountains and bogs. It is filled with the *qi* of metal and if [an adept] ingests it for a long time, she will be able to make her bodies disappear; she will soar into the air and become one with the clouds.” Weizi received this method [of ingesting fog] from Chun Wenqi, the jade consort of the Eastern Floriate [Palace] of the Eastern Sea. Wenqi was also the younger sister of the Azure Lad. Weizi often meditated in back [chamber] silence and her sincerity moved the spirits [into action]. For this reason Wenqi descended to her and bestowed this method.⁴¹

微子常服霧氣，自云：「霧氣是山澤水火之華精，金石之盈氣也，久服之，則能散形入空，與雲氣合體。」微子自言受此法於東海東華玉妃淳文期。文期，青童之妹也。微子曾精思於寢靜，誠心感靈，故文期降之授以服霧之道也。

The interior and functionality of the back chamber was similar, if not identical to those of the chamber described above, in the previous chapter—adepts sat on a platform in the middle of

⁴⁰ DZ 1016, 10.2a–b [SKKK, 349].

⁴¹ DZ 1016, 13.4b–5a [SKKK, 472].

the chamber and used the room for rites of confession. Unlike his “quiescent chamber,” which was a freestanding building constructed in a secluded location, Yang envisioned the back chamber as an auxiliary room within a larger building, often used alongside an open courtyard. In scriptures like the *Basu zhenjing* 八素真經 [Perfected scripture of the eight simplicities], Yang discloses how adepts were to visualize the five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn) through a series of ritual movements and incantations.⁴² Yang writes that adepts should conduct their visualization practice outdoors, weather permitting, and move into the back chamber if there are clouds in the sky. In the visualization of Jupiter (*muxing* 木星), for example, Yang directs adepts to request that the Perfected deities of Jupiter send a cyan carriage by which humans could fly to the heavens.

When there are no stars in the sky or when the heavens are cloudy, face east and [practice these] visualization exercises by making an incantation in your back chamber. This celestial Dao is subtly sublime and its mysterious mainstay is infinitesimally divided; you do not necessarily have to face the stars while you practice it.⁴³ When the stars are present you should go out into your courtyard. You may stand or sit as you wish.⁴⁴

天無星之時，天陰之夕，可於寢室中向東存修而祝也。天道微妙，玄綱毫分；不必對星而行之也。有星時可出庭中，坐立適意。

Yang’s description of ritual place in the *Basu zhenjing* demonstrates that the *qinshi* was a cloistered room within a larger residence. It also shows that, weather permitting, an adept did not need an indoor venue but rather could go outside and use the courtyard to envision the planetary bodies. This same command is featured at the end of each of the five descriptions of the ritual actions and incantations an adept was to employ. But the phrasing and content of the concluding passage differs a little bit each time. In the concluding passage

⁴² The title *Basu zhenjing* appears in a catalogue of scriptures in the “Daoshou,” which indicates that Xu Mi was in possession of the text during the early 360s. *DZ* 1016, 5.2a [SKKK, 179]. For a comparison of the “Daoshou” catalogue to the later list of Shangqing scriptures, the *Dadong zhenjing mu* 大洞真經目 [The catalogue of the perfected scriptures of the great cavern], see Robinet, *La revelation*, 2.18–19. For more on the extant fragments of the *Basu zhenjing*, see Robinet, *La revelation*, 2.51–57; Schipper, *The Taoist Canon*, 141–42, 624.

⁴³ Mainstays (*gang* 綱) are the meridians upon which the cosmic network of stars are fixed in place. Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 241.

⁴⁴ *DZ* 426, 11b [ZHDZ, 1.174c].

in which the adept envisioned Venus (*jinxing* 金星), for instance, the author adds yet a third visualization practice in a “chamber” (*shi* 室), which presumably referred to a detached room rather than the back chamber. It is noteworthy that the adept using the chamber is identified as a Daoist priest, a distinction that presumes that Daoist priests would have a “quiescent chamber” while others might not.

If there are no stars and there is a cloudy sky at dusk, face west and envision [Venus] within your back chamber. If there are stars [in the sky], go out into your courtyard; sit or stand as you wish. If you are a Daoist priest [conducting] a purification fast, envision the five planets in the corresponding walls of your chamber. These [different methods] can all be practiced together.⁴⁵

若無星之時，天陰之夕，可於寢室中西向存之。有星可出庭中；坐立任意。若靜齋道士，亦可通於室中存五星之真方面，而並修之也。

While there is a description of the back chamber and courtyard ritual for each of the five planets, only the Venus ritual mentions a Daoist priest in a detached chamber rather than in a back chamber.⁴⁶ After describing the five rituals in which adepts envision the planetary deities, Yang turned his attention to the appropriate times to practice these exercises. He claims that there was one day in each lunar month in which the various deities of the cosmos gathered together to record the merits and faults of adepts who were attempting to become Perfected deities. These days, collectively called the “five universal [days]” (*wutong* 五通), enabled adepts to absolve their sins as well as the transgressions committed by their ancestors.⁴⁷ This is followed by a revelation from Lord Li (*Li jun* 李君), the celestial overlord Li Hong 李弘, in which Yang commands adepts to use a detached chamber for penitent rites.

⁴⁵ DZ 426, 15a [ZHDZ, 1.176a].

⁴⁶ This evidence suggests that the inclusion of the Daoist priest in the Venus ritual is a later addition to the text. This kind of reworking of the planetary ritual into a Daoist ritual scheme is likely considering there are later layers in the scripture shifting readers’ attention to the practice of Daoist rites within a quiescent chamber. Since Yang does not mention the back chamber in this later layer of the *Basu zhenjing* and instead focuses on the quiescent chamber, it is possible that he later appended this section. Without corroborative evidence, however, this hypothesis is very speculative.

⁴⁷ Later in this text, the author specifies the time of day that adepts were to conduct these rituals: mid-day of the sixth day of the first month, at dinnertime on the first day of the second month, at midnight on the

On [each of the twelve] days enter your quiescent chamber [located] in a secret place and light incense. Face north and bow twice in the five [directions]. In your mind say the names of the august lords of high perfection and their spouses three times. Once that is complete knock your teeth five times. After that take off your cap and kneel as you respectfully make an announcement before the [deities of] the five planets, the lord of the Dao of high perfection and higher sovereign of the sun and moon, the spouses of the lord of the Dao, the high thearch and higher sovereign of the Shangqing [heavens] most high in the Yuqing [heavens], and sage lord of the great Dao. Then express all of the myriad sins and transgressions of your seventh generation father and mother on down through your ancestors and yourself; beg that all these generations are released [from culpability].⁴⁸

至其日，入靜室密處燒香。北向五再拜。心呼五星上真皇君、君夫人名字三過，畢，叩齒五通，畢，解巾長跪，謹啟五星，日月上皇高真道君，道君夫人，玉清太上上清上皇上帝，大道聖君几前。因自陳七祖，父母以下，下及一身千罪萬過，上世以來；乞得解脫。

Yang's combination of various indoor and outdoor locales was not particular to the *Basu zhenjing*, as evidenced by the *Shangqing jinque dijun wudou sanyi tujue* 上清金闕帝君五斗三一圖訣 [Illustrated instructions on visualizing the trinity of the dipper, according to the thearch lord of the golden porte], a scripture revealed by one of Hua Qiao's divine instructors, Zhou Yishan 周義山.⁴⁹ In a fashion similar to the planetary visualization exercises above, the author of this scripture describes how adepts should visualize the stars of the Big Dipper before returning to their back chamber to continue envisioning the stars.

seventh day of the third month, at lunchtime on the ninth of the fourth month, at midnight on the fifteenth of the fifth month, mid-day on the third day of the sixth month, at midnight on the seventh day of the seventh month, mid-day on the fourth of the eighth month, at dawn on the twelfth day of the ninth month, at dawn on the first day of the tenth month, at midnight on the sixth day of the eleventh month, and midnight of the twelfth day of the twelfth month.

⁴⁸ *DZ* 426, 21b [*ZHDZ*, 1.178b].

⁴⁹ Zhou Yishan remained part of Xu's entourage of divine instructors even after Xu fired Hua Qiao, so the authorship of this passage remains unknown (*DZ* 1016, 10.3b [*SKKK*, 353]). Nevertheless, Hua was a minor deity during Yang Xi's tenure, so it seems likely that after 364 these techniques were perceived as inferior to Yang's Perfected regimen.



On midnight of the last night of the [lunar] calendar you should secretly face north. Look up and fix your gaze on the inner images of the seven stars [of the Dipper]. When you see the Three-in-One emerge from underneath the *fu* star [of the Dipper], [make them] enter your [bodily] three palaces. Once that is complete return to the quiet of your back [chamber]. Meditate [on the Dipper] and envision it as if you were really looking at it.⁵⁰

每至除日夜半時，密起向北。仰視北斗七星之內象。見三一從輔星中下，來入己三宮中，畢還寢靜，精思存之，彷彿似見。

Unlike the above passages from the *Basu zhenjing*, the rituals of this second scripture feature a combination of back chamber and courtyard rituals. Adepts were first to go outside to pay homage to the celestial deities. After the image of these deities emerged in the heavens, adepts were then to move indoors and meditate upon these deities. If performed successfully, this ritual would cause the celestial deities to descend into an adept's chamber. Later in the scripture, the author identifies different ritual places from which adepts could perform these rituals. Each adept was to prepare his back chamber and courtyard by sweeping the entire area. Yang writes that adepts could practice the ritual outside using the stars in the heavens as visual cues to enhance their meditation of the celestial deities. On cloudy days, however, adepts would move into the back chamber, where they could engage in the same meditation techniques in front of an altar. He also stresses that adepts could use a platform when performing the ceremony so long as the individual built a tall fence around the compound.

The method of guarding the one should be [practiced] at midnight on *jiawu*, *jiachen*, and *jiayin* days. First sweep and clean the courtyard of your meditation back [chamber], and then lay out a mat that is one *zhang* square. Light incense and bow twice while facing north. You can also

⁵⁰ DZ 765, 11a [ZHDZ, 2.95b]. The above image accompanies the written text in the same scripture.

imagine yourself bowing [rather than actually doing it] . . . Become oblivious to your body so that your [bodily] form disappears; you will be able to instantly ascend into the heavens. If you can do this [ritual], the transcendent Dao will be within your grasp. Transcendents call this the “Great Stillness.” On cloudy or rainy [days] you can meditate on the bed [platform] of your back [chamber]. You can also arrange to construct a platform in a pure area that is one *zhang* square. There should be a fence surrounding [the altar] that is many *chi* tall.⁵¹

守一之法，以甲午、甲辰、甲寅日夜半。掃除靜寢之庭，方圓一丈布席。燒香向北再拜，亦可心拜而已……令忘身失體；恍焉如昇天之狀。如此則仙道近矣。仙人謂之大靜也。陰雨，可於寢牀上思之，亦可預作壇於淨處，使方圓一丈，籬四面高數尺。

The passages concerning the back chamber and courtyard in Yang’s scriptures demonstrate that Yang incorporated different ritual places in his scriptures where adepts of varying degrees of investiture could engage in ritual practice. Yang’s writings further indicate that rituals circulated among his sponsors could be adapted to a variety of locations, both indoor and outdoor. Such evidence reflects that the space of Xu’s ritual regimen was not a fixed location but founded upon a repertoire of possibilities. The texts about caves and back chamber indicate that Yang promoted various kinds of sites to his sponsors. Yang often took a pluralistic view of these ritual places, and he made no explicit judgment of what place was better or worse than the other. This accommodating stance toward ritual places in Yang’s early scriptures is most apparent in the accretive fashion in which he represented the back chamber, courtyard, and quiescent chamber. All were considered valid places to engage in ritual activity.

⁵¹ DZ 765, 15a–b [ZHDZ, 2.97a].

(2.3) *An Amalgamation of Places: The Chamber as an Argument*

While Yang Xi describes Daoist rituals as taking place in many different sites, both indoors and outdoors, Tao Hongjing expresses a different opinion in his commentary to Yang's revelations. Tao writes that there are no caves suitable for residence at Maoshan, and this is why building a temple is necessary. Unlike Yang, who wrote about adepts successfully finding liberation in caves and compounds, Tao concludes that adepts must seek to build at Maoshan if they hoped to secure salvation.

There are no stone chambers at Maoshan and this is why it is necessary to construct a shanty dwelling. Even if one has all herbs [they need], they still require utensils to prepare their medicine. Furthermore, they will need someone to donate clothes and other provisions. There is no way that one could hide without being seen. If one were to simply hide among the trees and flowers in a secret place there would be no traces in which to find them.⁵²

茅山通無石室，則必應起廬舍。既有服餌，使須藥具，兼猶資衣糧，不容都為隱默。但于時林花幽阻，無人尋迹耳。

Given the differences between Yang's revelations and Tao's commentary that we have already seen in the previous chapter, Tao's diverging opinion about the necessity of building at Maoshan should come as no surprise. Tao's religious enterprise, after all, was centered on the idea that a prospective sponsor might rely on Yang's revelations to locate a prime site for constructing a compound. What remains unclear, however, is at what point readers began assuming that the construction of a ritual compound was necessary for salvation.

The final part of this chapter attempts to trace the increasing significance of ritual architecture among readers of Maoshan literature by analyzing the conceptions of ritual places in the *Qingling zhenren Peijun zhuan* 清靈真人裴君傳 [Traditions of lord Pei, the perfected one of clear numinosity; hereafter, *Traditions of Lord Pei*], the extended

⁵² DZ 1016, 13.14b [SKKK, 492].

hagiography of Pei Xuanren.⁵³ Unlike the other five hagiographies of Perfected deities, which scholars view as the products of Yang Xi, this text has appendices with contradictions that scholars have noted as evidence that Pei's story was the work of later editors.⁵⁴ In a recent study, Chang Chao-jan has rekindled interest in the complicated textual history of Pei's hagiography on the grounds that the different textual layers represent how readers as early as the late fourth century adapted and revised Yang's texts into new ritual environments.⁵⁵ This section builds upon Chang's insights by analyzing the differing representations of ritual place in this hagiography, with emphasis on the increasing importance of architecture in the reception of Yang's rituals.

(2.3.1) *The Spatial Repertoire of Pei Xuanren*

The *Traditions of Lord Pei* begins with a long narrative detailing Pei Xuanren's life, with an emphasis on the meditative rituals and pharmacological recipes he used to attain godhood. Pei's hagiographer begins this story by describing a pilgrimage that Pei and his two friends made to a Buddhist temple on the northwestern frontier of China while the three men were teenagers. The abbot of this community, Zhi Ziyuan 支子元, who was an expert in physiognomy, recognized instantly that Pei's appearance distinguished him as an individual

⁵³ This hagiography is featured as an entire fascicle of the *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤, DZ 1032, 105. There are various fragments of Pei's story scattered throughout the Daoist literature. See Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 2.375–83; Yoshioka, *Dōkyō kyōten shiro*, 377, 391. According to the postface of Zhou Yishan's hagiography (see chapter 1, pp. 33–34, Pei's story was never circulated during Hua's tenure as Xu Mi's spiritual advisor. By 370, however, an early version of this hagiography circulated among the Xu family. See DZ 1016, 2.18b [SKKK, 81].

⁵⁴ For more on the discrepancies and inconsistencies in this text, see Maspero, "Les procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital,'" 522; Chen, *Daozang yuanliu kao*, 12; Porkert, *Biographie d'un taoïste légendaire*, 15. It is possible that the later editing of this text was undertaken by the two most prominent editors of this era, Wang Lingqi 王靈期 and Xu Rongdi 許榮弟 (Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 48–49; Eichman, "Converging Paths," 184–88). For an excellent overview of the other five hagiographies written by Yang Xi, see Xie, "Xiuzhen," 145–53.

⁵⁵ See Chang's forthcoming "Chuanshou yu jiaocai."

destined for greatness. He subsequently invited Pei to accompany him deep within the temple's walls.

Zhi Ziyuan then took Pei through a labyrinth of chambers leading to a serene and silent room. [Zhi Ziyuan] laid a great feast before him and once their meal had ended, he took Pei to an even more secluded spot.⁵⁶

乃延君入曲室之中，幽靜之房，大設豐饌。飲食既畢，將君更移隱處。

Alone in this chamber, Zhi bestowed instruction for five ritual procedures that would enable Pei to live for hundreds of years. The first was a meditation technique in which Pei would envision the resident deities of the five planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn), known as the five planetary spirits (*xing jingshen* 星精神). If Pei used this technique to contact the five deities, his body would float into the heavens. Pei's hagiographer describes the technique as taking place within a secluded chamber (*mishi* 密室), a term that likely refers to a site like the quiescent chamber or back chamber since Pei was encouraged to sit on a platform to visualize the five deities. The five lords would give Pei passage into heavenly realms directly from this chamber.

The first [technique], "Envisioning the Five Planets," [enables] you to embody the simulacrum of the five numen. This meditative ritual should be carried out in a secluded chamber. Sometime after midnight when [*yang*] *qi* accumulates, ingest the *qi* of the five directions by drawing them inward. You should sit upright on your platform and position yourself according to the month builder.⁵⁷ You will want to first knock your teeth together nine times and swallow your saliva thirty times. After this is finished, actualize the five planets . . . You should do this continually for a long time, even when you leave home on excursions. [The five planets] will never leave your mind, and nothing will disturb [your business] and no calamities will befall you. In the end, you will see the Five Elders, the deities of the five planets. If you see them you should inquire about the Dao of Flying Transcendence; these five spirits will lift your body to the heavens in broad daylight.⁵⁸

第一，思存五星，以體象五靈。存之法，常於密室。以夜半後生氣之時，服挹五方之氣。於寢牀上平坐，向月建所在。先叩齒九通，咽液

⁵⁶ DZ 1032, 105.1b [YJQQ, 2264].

⁵⁷ For more on the "month builder" constellation, see chapter 1, p. 29.

⁵⁸ DZ 1032, 105.2b [YJQQ, 2264–65].

三十過。畢，存想五星.....久久行之，出入遠行。常思不忘，無所不却，萬禍所不能干也。後當奄見五老人，則是五星精神也。若見者當問以飛仙之道；五神共扶人身形白日昇天。

The second and third techniques that Zhi taught Pei were likewise to be practiced within a chamber. In the second, Zhi instructed Pei to “enter into silence” (*ru jing* 入靖) by circulating *qi* up and down his spine, a practice that would enable Pei to “communicate with spirits” (*tongling* 通靈). The third technique offered Pei an analogous practice in which Pei focused his mind on the *sanshi* 三尸 (“three corpses”), which would purge his body of all transgressions.⁵⁹ The fourth technique begins with a short quote identified as a passage from the “Way of hidden virtue leading to divine transcendence” (*yinde zhi shenxian* 陰德致神仙) in which the hagiographer describes a bimonthly purification rite that would enable Pei to establish communication with deities.

You must take a bath on the first day [of the sexagesimal calendar]; if it is in the first ten days of that month, even better. Begin by burning incense on the left and right sides of your platform. After a long time celestial transcendents and jade girls will descend [towards you].⁶⁰

常以甲子日沐浴，竟甲子上旬日。當燒香於所止床之左右。久久行之，天仙玉女下降也。

Immediately following this description of this ritual bath, Pei’s hagiographer includes another method detailing how Pei should travel to mountains and secretly place a dog and chicken there as offerings. These actions would cause the deities to observe Pei’s actions and bestow herbs that would extend his years.

There is another method of raising a white dog and a white chicken. The dog will be called White Spirit and the chicken will be called White Essence. On each of the days of the eight nodes you will travel to the five marchmounts; ascend to the dwelling places of transcendents [located] on

⁵⁹ For more on the eradication of these corpses in Yang Xi’s hagiographies, see DZ 303, 4a–b; Kubo, “Nihon ni denrai shita,” 171; Raz, *Creation of Tradition*, 372.

⁶⁰ DZ 1032, 105.4a [YJQQ, 2266].

each of these mountains.⁶¹ Secretly place the chicken and the dog there. Leave [the mountain] but do not turn back to take a look. The celestial perfected and transcendent officers will bestow magical blossoms and numinous herbs to you.⁶²

又一法，當養白犬白雞。犬名曰白靈，雞名曰白精。諸八節日及行入五嶽；乃登名山諸有神仙之所在處。密放雞犬於其間。去勿迴顧，天真仙官當與子芝英靈草矣。

Just as the “white dog and chicken” technique began with the phrase “there is another method . . .” (*you yi fa* 又一法), Zhi Ziyuan uses the same phrase to introduce yet a third component of the fourth technique. Pei was instructed to write an announcement to the gods describing his intentions and send it directly to the deities by tying it with azure strings and golden rings. The divine overseers would reward Pei’s actions by erasing the sins he had committed and promoting his position among the transcendent officials.

Another method entails making a white announcement that is one foot and two inches in length. Then write the following in cinnabar ink, “I (so-and-so) in (such-and-such) a place wish to attain long life. I am ascending to [be a] transcendent thus liberating myself from this world by taking my course high in the Highest Clarity heavens. I implore the accomplished spirits among the perfected beings, the assembled spirits of the Five Marchmounts, and the Three Offices and Nine Bureaus to strike my sinful name [from the records of life]” . . . If you perform this ten times the Five Thearchs of heaven and the Three Offices and Nine Bureaus will erase each [of your transgressions]. They will erase all sins you have committed, write your name upon the Registers of Life, and determine your rank on your Transcendent Record.⁶³

又一法，作素奏，使長一尺二寸。丹書其文曰：「某郡縣鄉里某，欲得長生。登仙度世，飛行上清。真人至神，五嶽羣靈，三官九府，乞除罪名。」……如此十過，天上五帝，三官九府，更相屬勅，除人罪過，著名生錄，刊定仙籍。

After sending this announcement to the deities Pei was to venture into the mountains where he would discover “numinous herbs” (*ling yao* 靈藥). Zhi identifies the adept as a Daoist

⁶¹ The eight nodal days (*bajie ri* 八節日) include the equinoxes, solstices, as well as the first four days of the seasons (February 5, May 5, August 7, November 7). See Wang, *Dunhuang*, 370; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 365, 413.

⁶² *DZ* 1032, 105.4a [*YJQQ*, 2266].

⁶³ *DZ* 1032, 105.4a–b [*YJQQ*, 2266].

priest (*daoshi*), and claims that this technique would help all practitioners, whether they lived in the mountains or in an urban setting.

You will hike in the mountains and discover any numinous herbs or medicines you desire. The mountain spirits and jade maidens will come to protect you so that wolves and tigers will not dare harm you. The divine spirits will bless people with their protection and enable them to achieve the Dao. [As such] these people will grow intelligent; evil ghosts and persistent goblins will not dare try to test [these] people. While cultivating this Dao you will find [the whole process] quite simple and free from danger. If you are a Daoist, but do not know this technique, you will meet with difficulty when living in the mountains and will be repeatedly tested by demons. While living in the city [without the technique] you will come under constant assault of illness and poverty. Cultivate this Dao for long life and transcendence.⁶⁴

入山求芝草靈藥，所欲皆得。山神玉女，自來營衛。狼虎百害，不敢犯近。神靈祐助，常欲使人得道。開人心意，惡鬼老魅，不敢試人。行此道，易成而無患。若道士不知此術，入山必多不利，數為鬼物所試。在人間則多輾轉疾病，財物不昌，所願不從。若能行此道，長生神仙。

Unlike the first three techniques, Zhi's fourth technique was a repertoire of possibilities that Pei could consider in requesting magical plants from divine overseers. The hagiographer does not indicate which of the methods Zhi preferred. Pei's hagiographer juxtaposes a similar combination of stationary and itinerant ritual methods when describing Zhi's fifth technique, which would erase Pei's sins from his divine record. At midnight on each of the eight nodal eight days, Pei was instructed to look northward at the Northern Culmen (*beiji* 北極) constellation and confess his transgressions to his divine overseers.⁶⁵ The hagiographer provides a detailed list of the divine officials who would meet on the eight nodal days.

The fifth [technique] occurs on the inception of spring [February 5] when the perfected being of the Grand Bourne meets with transcendent beings at the Grand Bourne Palace. [It is at this time] that he incises jade slats to record the names of the transcendents. On this night, at midnight, face due north and gaze up the Northern Culmen. You must then pay obeisance and

⁶⁴ DZ 1032, 105.4b–5a [YJQQ, 2266].

⁶⁵ The Northern Culmen (*beiji* 北極) was the North Pole constellation around which ancient Chinese astronomers viewed as an axis around which all stars rotated. The constellation consists of five stars: γ (Pherkad), β (Kochab), α3233, β3162 Ursae Minoris, and α4339 Camelopardalis. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 3, 260–61.

bow your head stating all of your transgressions so that you might understand how [to overcome them]. This complete, you will once again pay obeisance and [the ritual] will end . . . You should always repent of your transgressions, as well as those of your fathers and mothers for seven generations on the days of the eight nodes. Any transgression or fault you may have committed will be absolved. If you do this habitually, you will eventually escape death and become a spirit or transcendent.⁶⁶

第五，太極真人常以立春之日日中時，會諸仙人於太極宮，刻玉簡，記仙名。常以其夕夜半時，正北向，仰視北極，再拜頓首，陳乞己罪多少之數，求解釋之意。畢，復再拜乃止.....常以八節日夜半日中，謝七世祖父母及身中罪過，罪過自除也。久行之，神仙不死。

Pei's hagiographer inserts a second kind of ritual to be practiced on the eight nodal days. In this alternative ritual, Pei was to travel to mountains and find a hidden valley surrounded by steep cliffs (*shenpi yinyan* 深僻隱巖), where he would secretly light incense and recite incantations asking for a long life. This technique, claims Zhi, would result in Pei's transfiguration as a divine transcendent, thus causing jade maidens to visit his bed chamber and protect him.

Another method states that on the days of the eight nodes you should travel to one of the five marchmounts, or to a famous mountain where spirits, transcents, and perfected beings live. Each time you come to a cliff hidden in a deep, remote place, secretly light some incense and make your wishes known . . . If there one who is "perched in seclusion [bound] by contracts to the unseen" [i.e., living in reclusion], or is unable to ascend the mountains, they should inform [the gods] of their heart's desire and strive toward Perfection with the utmost zeal. The result will be as if you went to the famed mountains in person.⁶⁷

又一法：每至八節日，常當行入五嶽，若神仙真人所棲名山之處也。每於深僻隱巖之中，密燒香乞願.....若或有棲遁冥契，而不獲登山者，寄心啟願，精意向真，亦與身詣名山者無異。

In both Zhi Ziyan's fourth and fifth techniques, Pei's hagiographer records different kinds of rituals side by side. These rituals were to be practiced in drastically different places, both in chambers and in remote, outdoor locations. Furthermore, this writer asserts that these various options typically resulted in similar, if not identical results for Pei. In the fourth

⁶⁶ DZ 1032, 105.5a–6a [YJQQ, 2266–7].

⁶⁷ DZ 1032, 105.6a–b [YJQQ, 2268].

technique, for example, Pei's rituals ranged from fragrant baths in one's residence to running after chickens in remote mountains. Both options, however, secured the same results for Pei, long life. The fifth technique likewise involved both outdoor and indoor venues imagined to elicit similar responses from the deities.

While the rituals Pei learned as a teenager varied greatly in their locations, Pei's hagiographer stresses that, after departing Zhi's monastery, Pei only practiced meditation (*jingsi* 精思) within a secluded chamber (*yinshi* 隱室).⁶⁸ Thanks in part to his newfound mental focus, Pei quickly rose to prominence as an official on the metropolitan circuit, serving in civil positions such as registrar (*zhubo* 主簿) and lieutenant governor (*biejia* 別駕); he was also a military general commanding armies against the Huns on the northern frontier of China. While serving as an official, Pei developed clients among the elite of the communities he served. As registrar of Jizhou 冀州 in present-day Hebei, for example, Pei took on lieutenant governor Liu Anzhi 劉安之 as a close disciple.

After ingesting Solomon's seal for twenty years, [Liu Anzhi's] body became very light and his face radiated.⁶⁹ Liu conducted many fasts with Pei in his quiescent chamber.⁷⁰

飲食黃精，積二十餘年，身輕，面有華光。數與君俱齋靜室中。

⁶⁸ Pei's early practice was perhaps best remembered for his dietary regimen of *poria cocos* (*fuling* 茯苓) and honey, called the "grassy liquor of the flowery oil" (*huili huayu* 卉醴華腴). An early fragment of Pei's hagiography in the seventh century collectanea *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 [Pearly satchel of the three caverns] contains a passage in which Zhi further told Pei, "While taking drugs and meditating bring adepts to the Dao in the same way, these two practices have different purposes. Ingesting drugs will help preserve your [human] form, and this healthy state will put your spirit at ease. Meditation, on the other hand, eases your spirit and this powerful insight gives form to that [should be] preserved. Used together, these two approaches will benefit each other." 尋藥之與存思，雖致道同津，而關源異緒。服藥所以保形，形康則神安。存思所以安神，神通則形保。二理乃成相資。DZ 1139, 5.2b–3a [ZHDZ, 28.433c]; Kominami, "Jinyaku kara zonshi," 42; Reiter, *Der Perlenbeutel*, 85. For more on *poria*, a fungal parasite on the roots of pine trees, see Read, *Plants*, 279n838; Strickmann, "On the Alchemy," 156; Unschuld, *Pharmaceutics*, 67; Needham, *Science*, 5.4:235; Campany, *To Live*, 310n73.

⁶⁹ Sometimes known as deer bamboo (*luzhu* 鹿竹), *huangjing* 黃精 is a kind of Solomon's Seal that was one of the chief plants used by longevity cults. Medieval writers considered the root as created by *qi* traveling to the heavens and descending back to earth in a rarefied form. See Schafer, *Mao Shan*, 28–29; Unschuld, *Pharmaceutics*, 52; Campany, *To Live*, 26, 338.

⁷⁰ DZ 1032, 105.7a [YJQQ, 2268].

Two decades after practicing in his quiescent chamber, a transcendent being accompanied by seven jade lads and seven jade maidens descended into Pei's courtyard (*ting* 庭). At the time, Pei was conducting a purification ritual in his chamber, but he emerged and received the divinity. Identifying himself as Chisongzi 赤松子 (Master Red Pine), the god informed Pei that he should cease practicing all of the techniques he had previously learned and focus his efforts on envisioning the five numen (*wuling* 五靈) in order to achieve a perfected Dao. He promised that this technique would be imparted to Pei at a later date. Pei and Liu Anzhi both responded by retiring from official life and dedicated themselves to the Five Numens method. Eventually Pei and Yang settled in a cave at Mount Yangyu 陽浴山, but only Pei had the perseverance to devote all of his energies toward realizing this Perfected Dao.⁷¹

Lord [Pei] entered a stone chamber in a grotto on the north [side of the mountain]. He practiced a Dao with such concentration that there was nothing he could not achieve. [Liu] Anzhi, however, was unable to remain within the mountain for long periods of time, and from time to time came out among mortals.⁷²

遂入石室北洞中。學道精思，無所不至。安之不能久處山中，時復出於人間。

At the end of the story detailing Pei's achievements, the hagiographer goes on to describe how Pei abandoned his chamber in the capital and moved to a remote site on Mount Taihua 太華山. After twenty-two years of his practicing in the mountains, the five lords appeared before Pei and enabled him to undertake a series of cosmic travels. Since our present purpose is to understand the kinds of earthly places readers associated with these rituals, the passages from the early parts of Pei Xuanren's hagiography that are the most helpful in understanding the writing of ritual place. On the one hand, Pei's hagiographer

⁷¹ Mount Yangyu 陽浴山 ("Bath of the *yang*") was part of a cluster of mountain names like Mount Yanggu 陽谷山 ("Valley of the *yang*"); all refer to the same mountains on the northern frontier of China. See Schafer, "The Restoration," 133n52.

⁷² DZ 1032, 105.7b–8a [YJQQ, 2269].

juxtaposes rituals in the quiescent chamber with those performed in courtyards, bedrooms, and mountains. This writer makes an attempt to distinguish between the utility of these different places—the chamber and mountain caves appear side by side as possibilities for Pei to explore rather than as a hierarchical order of preferred places. As we shall soon see, however, later editors of this text not only were aware of these different places where adepts practiced but were much more explicit in stating their preferences for where rituals *should* take place.

(2.3.2) *Later Architectural Articulations of Pei's Hagiography*

In addition to Pei's life story, *Traditions of Lord Pei* contains a series of appendices in which later editors added other accounts of techniques associated with Pei. These separate accounts provide alternatives to earlier parts of Pei's hagiography and conflicting accounts of what Pei was instructed to practice. There are, for instance, three appendices in which writers discuss the rituals that could be practiced on the eight nodal days, the days featured in the fifth technique Pei learned from Zhi Ziyuan. With one of these techniques, Pei was supposed to enter deep into secluded spots in the wilderness of the days of the eight nodes to make confessions of his sins.⁷³

Go deep into the forest leaving the world of men far behind. Find a remote and solitary place for any spot that is not in use by any man or animal will do. When you have uttered deplorable words, you will want to make a pledge showing that you have changed your ways. The words will be heard on high so be cautious not to do anything again that is evil or destructive. Once you have committed the same sin ten times nothing in

⁷³ In addition to the admonition to head off into the forests, this writer also quotes from a scripture, the *Sanjiu suyu* 三九素語 [Unadorned sayings of the three and nine], highlighting the autumnal equinox, *qiupan* 秋判 (“autumnal judgment”), as a day when perfected beings determine the life-spans of humans. The author also inserts a second quote from the *Houye shentong jingen jing* 候夜神童金根經 [Scripture of the golden root of the divine lad who awaits the night] to elaborate on how deities convened on the eight nodal days and determined peoples' transgressions and merits. These quotes from external scriptures do not articulate where adepts are supposed to go to repent their sins but merely urge adepts to confess their wrongdoings.

this world can save you and there will be no way that the living or dead can make any changes to [the celestial records of life].⁷⁴

入山林中，遠去人事。蕭然獨處，不犯萬物者，乃可為之。既有反善之詞，誓有改行之言。言已聞於高上之聽，慎不可復使犯惡遠生之事也。重犯罪十過，天地弗救，身死為驗，非可復改補者矣。

There is a second appendix describing the eight nodal days ritual, which the writer claims is a quote from the *Jingming qingtu* 經命青圖 [Azure chart of scriptural fate]. Pei's hagiographer writes that this ritual formed the basis by which Pei's first teacher, Zhi Ziyuan, would report all of his transgressions via a report he offered to the gods on the eight nodal days. This author also stresses the importance of the autumnal equinox as a day when the perfected and transcendent officials would review records concerning the lifespans of all beings. The second ritual designed for the eight nodal days also features quotes from scriptures, most notably the *Xianji zhenji* 仙忌真記 [Perfected record of transcendent taboos], to bolster the claim that the autumnal equinox was a day when all transgressions great and small were heard on high. This author elaborates on the celestial meeting by providing readers with the names of the gods who would meet on the equinox and the appearance of the jade palace where these deities convened. After describing what would transpire on the autumnal equinox in heaven, the author details what Pei was suppose to do on this day to ensure that his transgressions were absolved and his life extended. Pei was to go outside into the center courtyard of their compound and send a message to the gods who were in deliberations on high.

On midnight [of the autumnal equinox], go out into your courtyard, face north and remove your cap. Pay obeisance [to these gods] and kneel with your backbone straight. First, send an announcement to the Grand Thearch Lord, the Celestial Thearch of Northern Culmen Most High. You will then secretly list out all transgressions you have committed. Beg that you might receive his mercy and forgiveness. Use words that convey how you will never do such things again. You must say these words with conviction and

⁷⁴ DZ 1032, 105.14a [YJQQ, 2274–75].

make a pledge deep in your heart. You are now bound to this pledge; never dare commit the same transgression again.⁷⁵

其夕夜半，當出中庭，北向脫巾。再拜長跪。上啟太上北極天帝太帝君。因密自陳已立身已來犯罪多少之狀。乞得赦賞。從今自後，改往修來之言。言之必使信，誓于丹心。盟於天地；不敢復犯惡之行也。

After completing this ritual, Pei was to request that transgressions be erased from the divine registers, and a jade slip with Pei's name was to be added to the registers of future divine beings. The courtyard ritual, in other words, served as a symbol that Pei absolved his wrongdoings and further assured that he would attain godhood. But after conducting the courtyard rituals, claims the hagiographer, Pei was supposed to go back into a private chamber where he would envision the gods of the three primal zone of his body. Pei would conclude the ritual by ordering these gods to send up his request.

Upon completing this, knock your teeth together four times, pay obeisance again, and return to your quiescent chamber. You are then responsible to actualize the gods within your Three Primes to go and present your announcement [to the gods] Most High.⁷⁶

畢，又叩齒四下，再拜而還靜室，深自刻責，并存念三元中神，令上啟太上。

It is unclear why the author of this second technique characterizes Pei as combining the courtyard and chamber rituals. Pei presumably would make the same announcement of his transgressions twice. The only reason the author provides for this redundant behavior is that the announcement in the quiescent chamber would “make certain” (*bi* 必) that the gods received Pei's confession. It is also possible that the author views the multiple announcements to be granting Pei multiple chances to confess the infractions he had incurred throughout the past year. The hagiographer concludes that people had so many transgressions and faults that there are very few people capable of using the method of autumnal equinox absolution.

⁷⁵ DZ 1032, 105.13a–b [YJQQ, 2274].

⁷⁶ DZ 1032, 105.13b [YJQQ, 2274].

But it is the third ritual concerning the autumnal equinox confession that is most interesting, as it contains arguments in which a writer discredits the earlier techniques. This third author describes how adepts should envision the Five Numens in an attempt to breathe in their nourishing *qi* and how they only needed to focus on the indoor portion of the ritual.

This method of envisioning the Five Numen is of the same caliber as the method of going out into the courtyard to meditate. This method will bring you to the key part [of the meditation] without all the hassle. Nothing is as easy as quiet meditation. When incanting inside your quiescent chamber you should first actualize the Five Numens inside your body before you attempt to ingest their *qi*. It is rather difficult to cultivate the courtyard method, so it is preferable to attain [the same] efficacy by drawing these spirits close to you quickly in the quiescent chamber. The courtyard method instructs those just beginning their studies to guard against idleness and devote themselves wholly to the method. But to be honest, [practicing] in a chamber is the most important method.⁷⁷

存五靈……與出中庭存法等耳。此法乃逕要不煩。又於靜思易也。於靜室祝時，亦先存五靈在體中使備，然後服氣爾。庭中之法，所修煩多難行，又於致神之驗，不勝於靜室之速也。後出要言，祕之勿傳。庭中之法，以勸於始學，使不懈怠爾。篤而言之，室中為要法。

The above passage marks the emergence of a new kind of rhetorical stance taken for the quiescent chamber that appears neither in Yang's revelations nor in earlier layers of the *Traditions of Lord Pei*. Whereas we have clearly seen that earlier authors of the Shangqing texts featured a variety of ritual places in the characterization of these rituals, here we find a noticeable shift in how the author characterizes what rituals Pei should engage. While this author by no means discards the courtyard as a site for confessionals, he depicts Pei as utilizing the quiescent chamber because it makes the act of confession easier—but also because it is a site reserved for more advanced adepts. Rather than a simple juxtaposition of different spatial possibilities, this layer of Pei Xuanren's hagiography contains an argument intended to sway the minds of readers toward the benefits of ritual architecture.

⁷⁷ DZ 1032, 105.11b–12a [YJQQ, 2272–73].

We find a similar argument about the utility of the chamber, albeit in heavily modified form, in the *Shangqing taiyi jinque yuxi jinzhen ji* 上清太一金闕玉璽金真紀 [Annals of the golden perfected on the jade seal upon the golden porte of upper clarity]. The author of this scripture elaborates on Pei's hagiography by quoting from an otherwise unknown scripture, the *Dongda mingqing* 洞達命青 [Penetrating into the fated azure; probably the same text identified as *Jingming qingtū* above], and encourages readers to meditate on the image of the entire cosmos encompassed within the body.

Even your master's silent [chamber] is within your body, which is what the ancients meant by "embracing inside to understand the outside." If you are still hoping to change your ways, you will not necessarily have to go into the courtyard in addition to entering silent [meditation]. This is what is means to "observe its origins, and inspect its actions."⁷⁸ The Northern Culmen is also [embedded] in the shape of my body. When I am alone in my room or chamber, deep in meditation, I light incense and all I wish for comes true. Unless my mind is ridded of all desire and impurity, I would practice in this silent shanty but procure no benefit.⁷⁹

師靖亦我身中，是故聖人包內知外。夫欲思改更，未必中庭并入靖也。觀之所由，察之所行，此之謂也。北辰亦我身形。但當獨處所住屋室，靜思按法燒香，所念乃吉。心中眾欲濁氣不除，徒宿靖廬，亦無所益。

Despite the fact that all the authors of these passages from hagiographies and scriptures are anonymous, these texts demonstrate that there was a lack of a consensus among readers in the late fourth and fifth centuries concerning where Daoist rituals should be practiced. Such stances suggest that there was disagreement in the fourth and fifth centuries over the ideal place for ritual practice, as well as the relative importance of architecture. The appendices of Pei's hagiography give us insight into how these kinds of texts served as platforms by which writers and rewriters of these texts might forward their views on the need (or lack thereof) for buildings like the quiescent chamber. The messy textual layers of the *Traditions of Lord Pei*

⁷⁸ *Lunyu* (SSJZS), 2.4b [p. 17].

⁷⁹ DZ 394, 4b.

reflect the kind of textual processes that authors in this era deployed in arguing for ritual architecture.

Conclusion

Previous scholarship on Daoist ritual place has characterized architecture as playing an inextricable role in the development of the Daoist religion. The fourth through sixth centuries has been characterized as the “formalization” of Daoist compounds with a gradual expansion of the chambers into increasingly larger compounds. This chapter has provided an inventory of the spatial repertoire of Daoist ritual place in this period to highlight the diverging and conflicting ideas about the construction of Daoist buildings. These disparate passages from scriptures and hagiographies illustrate that the writings about Daoist ritual place were not straightforward descriptions of their appearance but were instead arguments that authors leveraged in an attempt to counter their contemporaries.

The above study takes us deeper into the biases of Daoist authors, who circulated their texts about “historical” adepts to forward new visions for the future possibilities of Daoist practice. By situating the written representation of Maoshan architecture among contemporary Buddhist texts and depictions of alternative Daoist ritual places, this chapter outlines how Maoshan architectural forms became intelligible to early medieval readers. The arguments guiding the early development of ritual architecture in the late fourth and fifth centuries are significant as they illustrate how writers increasingly persuaded sponsors about the benefits of construction, a trend that resulted in Tao Hongjing’s assertion that architecture was a compulsory part of Daoist practice at Maoshan. Whereas this chapter focused on the ideas that predated Tao, the next two chapters will delve into the social contexts likely informing Tao’s choice of rhetorical strategies in his reclamation of Maoshan.

CHAPTER 3

THE MEDIEVAL EXCAVATION OF ANTIQUITY

This research project began with an analysis of the ways that Tao Hongjing represented the past residents of Maoshan and shaped potential sponsors' opinions concerning the future of his religious enterprise. This chapter argues that Tao drew on cultural traditions that would have made his representation of past construction projects intelligible to his prospective sponsor and others. By surveying the documentary record of relevant medieval practices, I demonstrate that the excavation of ancient sites was a common practice among the various religions of China as well as its different geographic regions. I draw on a disparate body of evidence, which has not previously been the subject of sustained study, to conclude that the religious meanings of ancient artifacts and ruins would have made Tao's writings about Maoshan's past recognizable and meaningful to readers.

Neither Tao nor his early medieval contemporaries were the first writers in China to take an interest in the events of antiquity. Even in the earliest literature written in China, authors were immensely interested in the events of the past, which was envisioned as a golden age of peace and prosperity. As early as the sixth century BCE, authors wrote about the people living in high antiquity, as well as the fall from this harmonious peace under the machinations of corrupt despots. Thinkers such as Confucius advocated the preservation and transmission of ancient texts in hopes of restoring the past. Confucius's quote "[I] transmit, [I] do] not create" (*shu er bu zuo* 述而不作), for example, encouraged disciples to conserve the ideas of antiquity as opposed to fabricating their own. Exegetes in subsequent centuries

likewise emphasized the preservation of the past by collecting *yiwu* 遺物 (“things that had survived”), typically in the form of poems, documents, and narratives.¹

While early medieval writers were not the first authors to idealize the past, recent studies have shown that there were significant shifts in how writers connected the past to the identity of historical places. Stephen Owen, for example, has shown that the early medieval writers adapted Han dynasty exegesis to instigate the so-called *huaigu* 懷古 (“nostalgia for the past”) mode of composition. Owen observes that these backward-looking statements “guided the motions of memory,” thus enabling writers to attach emotions like human loss and ephemerality onto the identities of ancient places.² Historians of Chinese religions have similarly shown that the aristocratic sponsors adapted ancient notions to justify their rule over China.³ While all of these studies have shown the significance of the past, little work has been done on how the excavation of ancient sites in early medieval China might illuminate the devotional cultures of this era.⁴

It is surprising that scholars of China have written so little about excavations, given the interest the topic has garnered from historians of other civilizations.⁵ My study of the excavations of early medieval China has benefited most from Brandon Wheeler’s recent

¹ At the very least, the re-writing of antiquity began in the Han dynasty when writers produced commentaries and historical treatises by culling from previously circulating materials (e.g., *Lüshi chunqiu*, *Shuoyuan*, etc.) For more on the early relationship between classical learning and textual transmission during the Han, see Csikszentmihalyi, “Constructing Lineages,” 72.

² Owen, *Remembrances*, 5, 18–22.

³ There has also been considerable attention to how leaders refashioned ancient treasures into Buddhist and Daoist objects for the purpose of legitimating their rule. See Seidel “Taoist Sacraments,” 349; Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 228n16; Barrett, “Stūpa, Sūtra, Śarīra”; Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*; Pettit, “The Erotic Empress.”

⁴ One exception is Shi, “My Tomb Will Be Opened,” 225–26, a discussion of the early medieval notion that tombs were destined to turn into ruins.

⁵ See especially Jonathan Z. Smith’s analysis of the recovery of Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as depicted in Eusebius’s (c. 263–339 CE) *Vita Constantini*. Smith argues that this project was a kind of “spiritual landfill” since Eusebius transformed what might have appeared to onlookers as a landfill project into a triumphant recovery of the sacred. *To Take Place*, 83. Also see Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire*, 162–64, 192; Jonker, *The Topography of Remembrance*, 18–21; Winter, “Babylonian Archaeologists,” 1785–89. For more on the symbolic capital attached to ruins, see Baridon, “Ruins as a Mental Construct,” 88–89, 91; Schönle, “Ruins and History,” 649; Jaguaribe, “Modernist Ruins,” 298; Fritzsche, “How Nostalgia Narrates Modernity,” 76; Stoler, “Imperial Debris,” 202–03; Roth, “Irresistible Decay,” 1; Johnson, “Holy Fabrications,” 275; Lazure, “Possessing the Sacred,” 72–74.

study of the rebuilding of the Ka'bah in Mecca. Wheeler argues that the descriptions of the recovery of ancient treasures such as the swords of the Ka'bah were part of a larger mythological conception of the origins of human and Islamic existence. The descriptions were vital to establishing custodianship of the sanctuary in that they linked the site with prophecies concerning Muhammad's prophethood and leadership.⁶ Wheeler's study of the political appropriation of ruins and artifacts calls our attention to the comingling (and oftentimes confusion) of the ancient and modern roles of recovered objects. This juxtaposition of different eras enabled writers not simply to acknowledge the ancient past but also to create a triumphant present.⁷

I begin my study of the excavation of religious artifacts in early medieval China by identifying a wave of amateur archaeology that swept through Buddhist and Daoist communities in the fourth through sixth centuries CE. By using stories about the excavations of these sites, I show that these early excavations had an intimate relation to the construction of temple compounds. I next turn my attention to texts written centuries earlier, in the Han dynasty, in order to demonstrate that, while the contents of the Buddhist and Daoist excavations were unheard of in China, the interest in ruins and artifacts predated both religions. As a result, readers of authors like Tao Hongjing would have found excavations of the past intelligible and meaningful, at least in part because the recovery of ancient artifacts had long been conceived as an activity tied to claims of sovereignty and territoriality.⁸

While the excavation of antiquity may have predated both the writings about Buddhist

⁶ Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden*, 20–22. Wheeler's approach differs greatly from Hawting ("The Disappearance and Rediscovery," 47), who argues that the Islamic authors misconstrued older Jewish narratives.

⁷ See Patricia Brown's study of the ambivalent status of early Christian artifacts installed throughout Venice during the Renaissance. The aesthetic styles of Islamic motifs in Venice, argues Brown, may have been expressions of the aesthetic taste of a trading nation, but may have also been perceived as conformation to a Christian rather than Islamic East. Brown, *Venice & Antiquity*, 23–24. The Venetian construction of the past is also instructive for the study of early medieval China in other ways as well. Since Venice did not have an obvious Roman heritage in the form of archaeological ruins, the past was often fabricated by drawing upon literary sources. Das, "The Disappearance of the Trojan Legend," 97; Hay, *Europe*, 47–50.

⁸ The recovered objects are, of course, part of a larger collection of royal icons and regalia that Daoist priests used to legitimate rulers as inheritors of the past. See especially Seidel, "Taoist Sacraments," 349

and Daoist artifacts, the early medieval era witnessed significant shifts in the devotional meanings attached to excavations. The later parts of this chapter examine excavations contemporary to Tao Hongjing's Maoshan enterprise to show that excavators at the turn of the sixth century applied new conceptions to this ancient practice. These individuals, for instance, claimed that the recently deceased collaborated in these projects by disclosing the whereabouts of treasures to the living through revelation.⁹ Within the context of these religious excavations, I conclude, readers would likely have found Tao's excavation of Maoshan intelligible as a religious activity regardless of their previous knowledge of Daoism or Yang Xi's revelations.

(3.1) Religion and Amateur Archaeology in the Fourth Century CE

In the first chapter of this study, I analyzed how Yang Xi wrote a series of backward-looking statements in an effort to justify the kind of construction projects he hoped to undertake on behalf of Xu Mi. One of the most common ways Yang bolstered his claims about antiquity was describing the artifacts surviving ancient adepts that lay hidden beneath the surface of Maoshan. Many of the objects Yang described were caches of gold and cinnabar that ancient adepts had intentionally hidden at the sites where they long ago concocted elixirs. Yang was vague in detailing the exact locations of these objects but maintained that if Xu Mi were diligent in the practice of the ascetic arts outlined in his revelations, the Perfected would provide more specific coordinates. In letters he addressed to Yang's Perfected, Xu expresses his desire to learn more about where he might find these

⁹ The active participation of the dead in China contrasts with the passive role the dead played in the creation of sacred sites in medieval Europe. See Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, 83–89; Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, 195–200.

treasures. In a letter concerning gold buried at Jun Peak, for instance, Xu emphasizes that he hopes to locate these buried goods and use them for his personal elixirs.

You revealed, “Jun Peak is really a splendid place, and the director of destinies buried gold here when he departed. Those who wish to consume gold may extract it.” I have secretly wanted to compound an extract of gold, but have not dared discuss it. However, if I dwell on this mountain for many years and daily advance in my self-cultivation, to the point of penetrating the esoteric, [I hope] you will reveal the answer [to my questions].¹⁰

告「菌山至佳，司命臨去，埋金於此，欲服金者可取。」且竊有合金液意，今未敢議此。若山居積年，修學日進，後而事可得密者，臨時啟質。

In addition to the artifacts associated with Maoshan’s former residents, Yang featured nearly a dozen sites on the mountain with treasures buried by China’s ancient rulers who conducted sacrifices on the mountain. Some of these objects, such as an ancient copper tripod buried by Xuandi 玄帝 (Zhuanxu 顓頊), were supposedly placed on Maoshan by fabled heroes of China millennia before the fourth century.¹¹ Yang writes that most of the artifacts, however, were buried a few centuries prior to his own time by rulers who visited Maoshan. Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (Ying Zheng 嬴政, 259–210 BCE), for instance, ordered a pair of jade discs to be hidden atop Liangchang Peak in celebration of a cross-country tour he made in 210 BCE when his entourage camped briefly at Maoshan during his return from Kuaiji.¹² Yang also details the whereabouts of large caches of gold and bronze buried by recent Han dynasty rulers as well as by wealthy families living near Maoshan.¹³

¹⁰ DZ 1016, 11.19a–b [SKKK, 431]. Tao notes a different revelation indicating that the middle Mao brother, Mao Gu, later became upset with Xu Mi because Xu told his older brother, Mao Ying, about a cache of hidden gold.

¹¹ DZ 1016, 11.14b–15a [SKKK, 421].

¹² DZ 1016, 11.7b–8a [SKKK, 414]. In his commentary, Tao Hongjing notes that Mao Ying’s hagiographer claims there was only one pair of discs. Tao also writes that a similar pair of discs was discovered in the late fifth century at Yushan 禹山 (present-day Ganquan 甘泉 county, Shanxi).

¹³ In 22 CE, writes Yang, the interregnum emperor Wang Mang 王莽 buried two hundred *liang* of gold, and Wu Lun 吳倫, an envoy of Han Emperor Guangwu (Liu Xiu 劉秀, r. 25–57 CE), buried fifty *jin* of gold nine years later. DZ 1016, 11.9a [SKKK, 415]. Yang also records that the wealthy family named Qu 屈 buried a thousand *jin* of bronze on Liangchang Peak. DZ 1016, 11.15b [SKKK, 422].

There is no indication in extant texts that either Yang or Xu actually exhumed the artifacts mentioned in these revelations. Yang did, however, strongly discourage Xu from circulating the revelations about the ancient artifacts to others since leaking this information might result in a rush of outsiders scouring the mountain for these treasures. Violating this injunction, concludes Yang, would be a grave offense against the Perfected and would result in an immediate termination of communication between the deities and Xu.

You must be extremely careful in showing our correspondence to other people. In the event that someone gets a hold of [these documents], they might tear up this sacred mountain. This would be the greatest of all your sins.¹⁴

此書疏慎示俗人，脫有見者，掘壞靈山，爾之罪大也。

In his own letters, Xu Mi assures his spiritual advisor that he had no plans to divulge the inventory of Maoshan's treasures to others, nor did he seek to extract these artifacts for his personal use. Instead, Xu stresses that the revelations about the buried goods are valuable because they assist him in his efforts to select a site for his temple.

At present I am wholly devoted to [my study] of the Dao and have no concern for [where] the venerated spirits have placed the gold and jade. I only wish you help me procure more secrets. Why would I have any reason to dig them up or disturb them? That is why I have not yet even begun to look for them. [You mentioned] a peak with springs flowing both east and west that contain traces of gold and jade. I shall make every effort to build a quiescent dwelling at this site to compound elixirs.¹⁵

今之孜孜志慕於道，無心金玉，尊靈所置。唯助令彌密耳。豈有掘犯理耶。此故為未之照察也。山左右泉水，金玉津液。其地亦可立靜舍合丹，輒當以為意。

Yang's revelations and Xu's letters indicate that buried objects both bolstered Yang's claims about the historical significance of the mountain and aided Xu in finding the best site for his compound. These historical artifacts, whether real or imagined, constituted part of

¹⁴ DZ 1016, 11.16b [SKKK, 423].

¹⁵ DZ 1016, 11.18a [SKKK, 430].

Xu's justification for reclaiming and rebuilding at the ancient sites Yang featured in his revelations.

Yang Xi's fear of the possibility that outsiders would lead excavations to unearth Maoshan's ancient artifacts suggests that readers in fourth-century China would have been keen on obtaining such information. Stories about the founding of Buddhist monasteries in fourth-century China confirm that there was a wave of excavations at sacred sites. Unlike Yang, who merely produced written texts describing buried artifacts, his Buddhist counterparts claimed to have unearthed a wide array of antique objects on behalf of sponsors. These artifacts were especially significant for Buddhist clerics who were either building new monasteries or seeking potential sponsors for the future construction of compounds.

Most of the Buddhist artifacts recovered in fourth-century China were linked to the legendary Indian King Aśoka (304–232 BCE), who reportedly ordered the construction of eighty-four thousand stupa monuments worldwide. Buddhist writers of the early medieval era identified at least four sites in China containing ruins of Aśokan compounds. These places were seen as proof that Buddhist communities were not a new addition to the Chinese religious landscape but had an ancient pedigree.¹⁶ In addition to their historical value, Aśokan sites were also prized for their devotional significance, since King Aśoka's monuments housed body relics called *śarīra* (*sheli* 舍利).¹⁷

While the excavation of Aśokan artifacts might seem fanciful or improbable to the modern reader, its credibility gained a strong foothold in early medieval China. The earliest recorded excavation of an Aśokan compound was undertaken by Fotudeng (or Fotucheng) 佛

¹⁶ The sixth century historian Wei Shou 魏收 (506–72 CE), identifies Luoyang 洛陽, Pengcheng 彭城, Guzang 姑臧, and Linwei 臨淄 as four cities where ruins of Aśokan monasteries had been discovered. *Weishu*, 114.3028; Ware, “Wei Shou on Buddhism,” 119; Hurvitz, *Wei shou*, 42–43.

¹⁷ These relics were thought to have survived the Buddha's corpse after it was burned, as fire could not consume them. Sharf, “On the Allure of Buddhist Relics,” 78–79; Faure, “Relics and Flesh Bodies,” 174–75; Schopen, *Figments and Fragments*, 350–53; Chen, “Sarira and Scepter,” 35; Boucher, “The Pratityasamutpadagatha,” 1–2, 11; Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 16–43; Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation*, 32–65.

圖澄 (d. 348 CE) on behalf of his royal sponsor, Shihu 石虎 (295–349 CE). Fotudeng persuaded Shihu to fund an excavation of the ruins of an Aśokan site by pointing out that he lacked the necessary building materials needed for the restoration of another ancient temple at Linzhang 臨漳. Fotudeng's hagiographer does not specify how this cleric procured information about the Aśokan ruins, but Fotudeng was well acquainted with the buried goods before the excavation began. Impressed with the monk's powers to pinpoint the location of the ancient site, Shihu sent an excavation team and recovered the exact artifacts Fotudeng had previously described.

[Shi]hu was repairing an old stupa in Linzhang but lacked dew receptacles.¹⁸ [Fotu]deng said, "In the city of Linzi there is an old stupa of King Aśoka. In the earth there is a dew receptacle, as well as a statue of the Buddha. Above this site trees grow luxuriantly. You might excavate and get them." He immediately drew a map and gave it to a messenger. They excavated according to what he had said, and did in fact get the receptacle and the statue.¹⁹

虎於臨漳修治舊塔少承露盤。澄曰。臨淄城內有古阿育王塔。地中有承露盤及佛像。其上林木茂盛。可掘取之。即畫圖與使。依言掘取。果得盤像。

Stories about the fourth-century excavation of Aśokan sites also indicate that the places became significant locations from which rulers sponsored large-scale construction and restoration projects of temple compounds. After the monk Huida 慧達 (Liu Sahe 劉薩河) spotted a mysterious light emanating from the Changgan Monastery in 374 CE, for example, he led an excavation that produced ancient coffers housing relic objects. Huida interpreted these artifacts as parts of the compound built by King Aśoka, and the events inspired the emperor to construct a three-tiered spire in honor of their discovery.

When [Huida] told others, an excavation was begun; at a depth of ten feet or so they discovered three stone tablets. Inside the lid of the central one

¹⁸ A dew receptacle (*chenglu pan* 承露盤) was a spire with a series of vertically aligned plates to catch dew placed on top of stupas. The designers of these receptacles adapted the spires from Han dynasty receptacles, which were placed on top of forty-six meters statues of transcendent beings to collect dew. See *WXI*, 134n299 and 201; Pelliot, "Meou-tseu ou les doutes levés," 381n266; Soper, "Japanese Evidence," 649.

¹⁹ T 2059, 50.385b. Translation based on Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng," 354.

was an iron coffer, and in that a silver coffer, which in turn held one of gold. Within the last were three relics, and in addition a nail and a hair several feet long, which when stretched out would curl again in spiral form, all of these glowing with light and color. This had been one of the eight-four thousand stupas erected by King Aśoka at the time of King Jing of Zhou (r. 519–475 BCE). Religious and laity were overjoyed at the miracle. West of the old stupa they set up another pagoda spire to house the relics. In [391] this was enlarged to a three-storied structure by Xiao Wu[di].²⁰

乃告人共掘；掘入丈許得三石碑。中央碑覆中有一鐵函，函中又有銀函，銀函裏金函。金函裏有三舍利，又有一爪甲及一髮，髮申長數尺，卷則成螺，光色炫耀。乃周敬王時阿育王起八萬四千塔，此其一也。既道俗歎異。乃於舊塔之西更豎一剎，施安舍利。晉太元十六年，孝武更加為三層。

Huida later led an excavation of another Aśokan stupa in Mouxian 鄮縣, which also attracted the attention of lay sponsors. After examining the underbrush covering the base of a monument at Mouxian, Huida perceived a divine radiance emanating from the spot where he discovered a second Aśokan site. Huida's hagiographer heralds this discovery as starting a great lay movement, and causing the governor to fund an expansion of the compound.

[Huida] went on to Kuaiji [in Zhejiang] to worship before the stupa of Mou[xian]. That also had been built by King Aśoka, but with the passage of time [only] underbrush marked the existence of its basement. Huida's heart was noble and his mind was disciplined, and [as a result] he saw a divine radiance flaming out. [He] subsequently restored the monument and carved out a stone niche. The flocks of birds did not dare settle there, and the hunters and fishermen in the vicinity never caught anything. Religious and laity were moved by the news and received a great renovation of faith. Later on the military governor of the district, Meng Yi, made further additions and improvements.²¹

頃之進適會稽禮拜鄮塔。此塔亦是育王所造，歲久荒蕪示存基跡。達翹心束想乃見神光焰發。因是修立龕砌。群鳥無敢棲集，凡近寺側畋漁者必無所獲。道俗傳感莫不移信。後郡守孟顗，復加開拓。

In other excavations of Aśokan artifacts, aristocratic sponsors took center stage as the individuals responsible for the discovery and subsequent installation of these objects. In 326

²⁰ T 2059, 50.409b. Alexander Soper translated a majority of this hagiography in his *Literary Evidence*, 8–9. A much more replete translation of this hagiography and other surviving sources pertaining to Huida's story has been captured in Shinohara, "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies," 150–80.

²¹ T 2059, 50.410a. Translation based on Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 10.

CE, for example, a local prefect in Danyang, Yin Gaoli 尹高悝, dug up a golden statue buried beneath a bridge in present-day Zhenjiang, Jiangsu. Yin discovered a commemorative inscription written in Sanskrit. Upon translating the text, Yin understood that the original donor was the fourth daughter of King Aśoka. When Yin tried to transport the statue from Zhenjiang's river port to the imperial coffers, the statue miraculously became too heavy to move. This resulted in local officials requesting to keep the statue at Changgan within the precincts of the local monastery.

In the *xianhe* reign of the Jin [326–34], a prefect of Danyang, Yin Gaoli, had a gilded image dug out of the bay near the Zhangzhou Bridge. It lacked aureole and pedestal, but was fashioned with the greatest skill. In front it had a Sanskrit inscription reading, “Made by the fourth daughter of King Aśoka.” Li carried the image back to the Changgan landing, but there his oxen refused to go farther, in spite of all that human strength could do. He allowed the oxen to go where they would and they went straight to the Changgan Monastery.²²

昔晉咸和中丹陽尹高悝，於張侯橋浦裏掘得一金像。無有光趺，而製作甚工。前有梵書云，「是育王第四女所造。」悝載像還至長干巷口，牛不復行非人力所御。乃任牛所之，徑趣長干寺。

The legend surrounding the statue of Changgan differs from Fotudeng's excavation in that there were subsequent discoveries of objects identified as belonging to the same statue. A year later, an ocean fisherman, Zhang Xishi 張係世, found a bronze lotus pedestal floating on the water of an estuary at Linhai 臨海 (present-day Zhejiang province). Zhang turned the pedestal in to a local authority, who then forwarded it to the throne. The emperor subsequently ordered the pedestal to be sent to Changgan, where it was affixed to the statue's feet.²³ Decades later, a pearl diver in Vietnam named Dong Zongzhi 董宗之 discovered a halo on the sea bottom. The imperial commissioner forwarded the halo to the throne, and the Jin Emperor Jianwen 晉簡文帝 ordered that the halo be affixed to the statue. Notches on the

²² T 2059, 50.409c. Translation based on Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 9.

²³ T 2059, 50.409c. Translation based on Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 9.

back of the deity's body matched the size of the halo perfectly.²⁴ The multiple discoveries of the parts of the Aśokan statue of the Changgan Monastery were processed through bureaucratic channels.²⁵ The discovery of each artifact was publicized to the throne, and, in at least two cases, the imperial administration took an active role in assigned where the ancient objects should be housed.²⁶

Like Yang Xi's revelations, the stories describing the discovery of Aśokan sites in fourth-century China show a correspondence between the recovery of ancient artifacts and the construction of temple compounds. For both Buddhist and Daoist writers, these ancient artifacts were not historical curiosities; they represented verifications of the monks' historical claims and thus provided warrant for them to request money from their sponsors. Furthermore, the excavations in both Buddhist and Daoist contexts were linked to the building of temple compounds. As we shall see in the following section, this link between excavation and the construction of sacred sites was an idea that predated both religions.

(3.2) *Ruins as a Mental Construct in Early Medieval China*

While Yang Xi and his Buddhist counterparts might have been the first to write about ancient artifacts of the Maoshan alchemists and King Aśoka, the notion that royal sponsors

²⁴ T 2059, 50.409c. Translation based on Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 9.

²⁵ The imperial interest in cataloguing these objects was by no means limited to the southern kingdoms. In the summer of 522, a monk of the Jinglin Monastery 靜林寺 in Bingzhou 并州 (in present-day Shanxi and western Hebei provinces) unearthed a cache of valuable objects while digging herbs a valley. The surviving record reads, "In the sixth month of the third year of Suzong (Tuoba ziyou 拓跋子攸) [July 9–August 7, 522], a monk of the Jinglin Monastery of Bingzhou was out digging up herbal [roots] in Oak Valley west of the Yangyi Gate when he came across five jade disks, ten [jade] tablets, one seal, one jade column, a jade lid. He submitted all of these [to the throne]." 肅宗正光三年六月，并州靜林寺僧在陽邑城西橡谷掘藥，得玉璧五，珪十，印一，玉柱一，玉蓋一，並以獻。 *Weishu*, 112b.2957.

²⁶ The story about the Aśokan statue of the Changgan Monastery suggests that excavations boosted the public image of Chinese rulers both at home and abroad. The author of this story writes how the recovery of these objects inspired five foreign monks to journey from afar after they were notified in a dream that the artifacts had been rediscovered. T 2059, 50.409c; Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 9.

should locate ancient sites and build temple compounds was a practice common in China many centuries earlier.²⁷ Han dynasty rhapsodists, for example, described how large ceremonial complexes were constructed on sites with an extensive history of building activity. In his “Xi jing fu” 西京賦 [Western metropolis rhapsody] Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139 CE) writes about how Emperor Wu of the Han 漢武帝 (r. 140–87 BCE) searched available sites in present-day Xi’an for evidence of where past emperors had formerly constructed palace compounds.

He looked to the lodges of the past,	視往昔之遺館
And found Forest Light among the Qin remains.	獲林光於秦餘
He occupied Sweet Springs’ bright summit,	處甘泉之爽塏
For it was tall and lofty, broad and spacious.	乃隆崇而弘敷
Having newly built Welcoming the Wind,	既新作於迎風
He added Dewy Chill and Storage. ²⁸	增露寒與儲胥
Tall foundations rested on mountain peaks,	託喬基於山岡
Situated aloft like vertical rainbows. ²⁹	直帶霓以高居

Other texts written in this era indicate that this kind of search for ancient sites was a common feature of Han building practices. Historical accounts of Emperor Wu, for example, describe him uncovering a large rock during a stag hunt on Songsan 嵩山. After determining that this stone was the metamorphosed remnants of Qimu, the wife of the ancient

²⁷ This is especially true for the construction of imperial temples during Han China in which writers utilized ancient descriptions to justify their building a large temple complexes. See Baker, “The Imperial Ancestral Temple,” 81–82.

²⁸ Welcoming the Wind (*Yingfeng* 迎風), Dewy Chill (*Luhan* 露寒), and Storage (*Chuxu* 儲胥) were names of lodges that Emperor Wu added to the Sweet Springs Palace in 109 BCE. See *Sanfu huangtu*, 2.143; *Hanshu*, 87B.3558n7.

²⁹ *WX*, 2.8b–9a [pp. 40–41]; translation based on *WXI*, 195.

king Yu 禹, Emperor Wu ordered the site to be rebuilt.³⁰ He expanded the preexisting shrine and protected the area as an alpine reserve.³¹

Having made [oblations] at Mount Hua, his highness traveled to the Central Marchmount [i.e., Mount Song] where he captured a *bobiao*.³² It was there he came across the rock of Qimu, a queen of the Xia [dynasty]. The next day he ascended high upon Mount Song with his officials in attendance. Next to the temple there were a group of clerks and soldiers who heard a chant of “Long Live [the Emperor] repeated three times. All those in attendance to this ritual responded in kind. He thereupon ordered that a shrine attendant be stationed here and its status be [elevated to] a grand shrine. He also made a ban on harvesting herbs and wood. For the three hundred residents living near the mountain’s base, he made their village an official fief and called it Chonggao (“Worshipping the Heights”) and gave them their own shrine. They were given everything they needed.³³

朕用事華山，至於中嶽，獲駁麋。見夏后啟母石。翌日，親登嵩高，御史乘屬。在廟旁吏卒咸聞呼萬歲者三。登禮罔不答。其令祠官加增太室祠。禁無伐其草木。以山下戶三百為之奉邑，名曰崇高，獨給祠。復亡所與。

Emperor Wu’s discovery of the Qimu stone is not really an excavation per se since he stumbled upon the site rather than ordering a premeditated dig. Nevertheless, this story suggests that by the early Han dynasty there was an established notion that the miraculous discovery of artifacts was accompanied by temple construction. This narrative also indicates that the recovery of the past was interpreted as a divine confirmation of an emperor’s mandate to rule over his empire. This stone, like Yang’s treasures and the Aśokan objects above, helped the discoverer justify his development of a property into a sacred site.

³⁰ Qimu’s husband, Yu, was remembered for his quelling of the Great Flood in high antiquity. For more, see Zhao, “Chinese Mythology,” 232; Lewis, *The Flood Myths*, 104. Qimu’s name, literally meaning “Mother of Qi,” does not appear in any of the early texts where the legend of her husband appears. The earliest mention of Qimu is in the *Suichao zi* 隨巢子, a lost pre-Qin text (see *Taiping yulan*, 51.5b), in which the author does not link Qimu to the rock at Mount Song, but merely reveals her birth and subsequent transformation into a stone. See Chen, “Qimu shi,” 117; Karlgren, “Legends and Cults,” 309–10; Pettit, “The Erotic Empress,” 127.

³¹ Glen Dudbridge argues that the English term for most imperial ritual spaces should be “memorial complex” as opposed to “shrine” since relics of the martyr did not play a part in the cult. Dudbridge, “Yu-ch’ih Chiung,” 30. Qimu’s rock is, however, a kind of bodily relic and I feel the translation as shrine is justified.

³² The *bobiao* 駁麋 was a horned, horse-like creature with a white body and black tail who preyed upon tigers and leopards. See Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Animal Drugs*, 351b; Schiffler, *Legendary Creatures*, 34.

³³ *Hanshu*, 6.190.

By the fourth century, writers were under the impression that the discovery of high antiquity by rulers like Emperor Wu was a common practice. A contemporary of Yang Xi, Wang Jia 王嘉 (d. before 393 CE), recorded a story about Qin Shihuang's third-century BCE excavation of the "Treasure Bottle" (*baoweng* 寶甕), an artifact fashioned out of agate by the Yellow Emperor (trad. 2700–2600 BCE).³⁴ This bottle, writes Wang, was passed down from the Yellow Emperor to his successors, and each ruler used the bottle to collect rarified sweet dew falling from the heavens. At the end of each year the emperor would distribute the sweet dew to his ministers as an annual bonus for their services. But as the political climate unraveled in China, the level of dew inside the bottle lessened, eventually resulting in the abandonment of the bottle. By the reign of King Shun (trad. fl. 2200 BCE), the bottle sank into the earth at Lingling 零陵. Having established the history of this artifact, Wang describes how Qin Shihuang discovered the bottle many centuries later when he led an excavation team at Hengshan, the site of King Shun's shrine.

After Qin Shihuang turned the rapids of Miluo into a small stream, he traveled from Changsha down to Lingling.³⁵ There [the emperor] dug into the ground and obtained the red jade bottle. It held eight *dou*, corresponding to the eight directions [of horizontal space]. The octagonal bottle was discovered at a site directly in front of the [ritual] hall of King Shun's temple. The [bottle] was passed down to subsequent [kings] though the exact dates [of this transmission] is unknown. During the Han dynasty, Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (161–93 BCE) recognized the bottle and composed the "Treasure Bottle Inscription."³⁶

至秦始皇通汨羅之流為小溪，徑從長沙至零陵。掘地得赤玉甕，可容八斗。以應八方之數，在舜廟之堂前。後人得之，不知年月。至後漢東方朔識之，朔乃作《寶甕銘》。

³⁴ For more Wang's composition of his *Shiyi ji*, see Campany, *Strange Writing*, 64–67.

³⁵ Miluo 汨羅 is a river in the Lake Dongting watershed originating in the northwestern corner of present-day Jiangxi. It flows through Pingjiang 平江 county of Henan before emptying into the eastern side of Lake Dongting at the present-day city of Miluo. Qin Shihuang invested heavily in Miluo by turning the former capital of the Luo 羅 kingdom into a regional hub. Present-day Changsha and Lingling are approximately one hundred and four hundred-fifty km southwest of Miluo.

³⁶ Wang, *Shiyi ji*, 1.20.

Bracketing questions about the historical accuracy of Wang Jia's account, this narrative demonstrates that early medieval writers envisioned the excavation of antiquity as an activity that had been sponsored by rulers of China for many centuries. Furthermore, there was a clear connection between the restoration of political power and the discovery of imperial regalia, as Wang claimed the artifacts only reemerged among humans during an age when political stability had been restored. Artifacts, at least in the minds of medieval historians, were physical manifestations of the divinely appointed mandate to rule, an honor that could appear, disappear, and reappear in different ages.

Excavation was an activity undertaken not only by emperors; people of lower ranks also uncovered artifacts once belonging to the sage rulers of high antiquity. In the following passage, Liu Jingshu 劉敬叔 (fl. early fifth cen. CE) describes a Later Han excavation of a reed mouth-organ and a white jade flute beneath a shrine built in honor of King Shun.

Hengyang and Jiuyi Peaks are both home to temples paying homage to [King] Shun. In every [age], prefects worshipped there with utmost sincerity and have even heard the sounds of string music [in response to the offerings]. In the time of Emperor Zhang of the Han (r. 76–88 CE), Xi Jing, a litterateur from Luling, found a reed mouth-organ and a white jade flute beneath [Shun's] shrine at Bingdao county. These were items bestowed upon Shun when he met Queen Mother of the West.³⁷

衡陽山，九嶷山，皆有舜廟。每太守修理祀祭潔敬，則聞弦歌之聲。
漢章帝時，零陵文學奚景於冷道縣祠下得笙白玉管舜時西王母獻。

While they were written in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, these accounts of ancient excavations are arguably of little use as historical records of what *really* happened in antiquity. They are nevertheless instructive of the kinds of activities that caught the attention of writers living in the same era as Yang Xi and Tao Hongjing.

In addition to stories about excavations of the past, writers began describing their discoveries of ancient ruins in poetic form. One of the earliest such poems was “Dong zheng

³⁷ *Yiyuan* 異苑 (SKQS), 1.1b [p. 500]. Also see the account of the excavation of an ancient bronze implement during a 56 CE journey to Taishan by Han Emperor Xuan. Bokenkamp, “Record of Feng and Shan Sacrifices,” 256–57.

fu” 東征賦 [Rhapsody of an eastward expedition], in which poetess Ban Zhao 班昭 (ca. 49–ca. 120 CE) describes a journey she took with her son, Cao Chang, in 95 CE. The two traveled from Luoyang to Changyuan 長垣, where Cao was to assume a post as chief of the region. Ban views ruins they passed as a source of ambivalence: on the one hand, these decrepit buildings symbolize the death and decay of a once prosperous place for Ban, while on the other hand she stresses that her encounters with depressing scenes resulted in a positive mental transformation. In the middle of her rhapsody, Ban writes about their entry into the town of Kuangcheng 匡城, the scene of a famous encounter in which Confucius had long before been mistaken for a bandit.

Entering Kuang’s outskirts, I recall the distant past;	入匡郭而追遠兮
And ponder the terrible hardships of the Master. ³⁸	念夫子之厄勤
In that lawless [age of] decline and disorder,	彼衰亂之無道兮
They could torment and frighten even a sage.	乃困畏乎聖人
With a despondent look I pause [here] for a long time,	悵容與而久駐兮
Oblivious of the setting sun and approaching dusk.	忘日夕而將昏
Reaching the borders of Changyuan,	到長垣之境界
I observe the residents of the farms.	察農野之居民
And catch a glimpse the ruins of Pucheng,	睹蒲城之丘墟兮
[Now] growing thick with clusters of thorns and stickers.	生荊棘之榛榛
Startled, I awaken, and look back intently,	惕覺寤而顧問兮
As I think of Zilu’s majestic spirit. ³⁹	想子路之威神
The people of Wei admired his courage and propriety;	衛人嘉其勇義兮
Even now [the people here] still praise him. ⁴⁰	訖于今而稱云

Subsequent writings about ruins also feature the ambivalent emotions occurring as a result of witnessing the symbols of human civilization’s decay. In his “Xi zheng fu” 西征賦 [Rhapsody of a westward expedition], Pan Yue 潘岳 (247–300) recorded the sites that he visited during his travels to the ancient Han dynasty capital of Chang’an after his exile in the

³⁸ This is the place where Confucius was mistaken as a bandit and accosted by the local townspeople. *Lunyu* (SSJZS), 9.2b [p. 77]; *Shiji*, 47.1919.

³⁹ Pucheng 蒲城 was the ancient city where Confucius’s disciple Zilu once served as grandee. For Zilu’s connection to Pucheng, see *Shiji*, 67.2193. In late antiquity, this site was also home to a shrine in Zilu’s honor (*Hou Hanshu*, 21.3449n17).

⁴⁰ *WX*, 9.20b [p. 148]. Translation based on *WXII*, 175.

summer of 292.⁴¹ Most of the sites of Chang'an had fallen into disrepair by Pan's day, and not surprisingly Pan uses the images of ruins extensively. While touring peasant settlements, Pan notes the deserted and desolate appearance of the rows of shanties—huts are sparsely scattered and residents compose only one one-hundredth of the city's former population. After witnessing the remnants of the old capital, Pan tries to escape the desolate landscape by traveling to the outskirts of town. Upon arriving at the old palatial compounds on the northern side of the city, however, Pan's hopes of finding an uplifting scene quickly dissolve as he sobs before the burnt remains of the Cypress Beams Terrace.⁴² Pheasants, foxes, and hares live in courtyards filled with overgrown millet, and this menagerie contrasts with the once-glamorous residents of the terrace.⁴³ In a state of confusion, Pan's despair culminates in the discovery of a ruined temple deep in the palatial compound.

Great bells have fallen in the ruined temple;	洪鍾頓於毀廟
Bellframes have collapsed and hang no more.	乘風廢而弗懸
The forbidden chancellery has turned to thick grass; ⁴⁴	禁省鞠為茂草
Bronze statues have been transported to Ba Stream. ⁴⁵	金狄遷於灞川

⁴¹ After being appointed to the staff of Yang Jun 楊駿 (d. 291) in 290, Pan was nearly killed along with Yang's retinue in the wake of Empress Jia's coup. Pan escaped death and was instead sentenced to exile thanks to the efforts of his friend Gongsun Hong 公孫宏. Pan was appointed to a post in Chang'an and left for the ancient capital on June 20, 292. See *Jinshu*, 55.1503–4.

⁴² Emperor Wu of the Han built Cypress Beams (*Boliang* 柏梁) Terrace in the spring of 115 BCE (*Hanshu*, 6.182; Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2.72). The terrace burned down on January 15, 104 BCE, and after consulting with a shaman, the emperor decided to build an even larger structure on the site. See *Shiji*, 28.1402; Watson, *Records*, 2: 66; *Hanshu*, 6.199; Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, 2.98; *Hanshu*, 25B.1244–45; *WXI*, 194n220. The palatial compounds of Chang'an have been extensively excavated in recent years. For the first round of excavations conducted between 1957–59, see *Tang Chang'an Daming gong*; Satō, *Chōan*; Chung, “A Study of the Daming Palace,” 23–72.

⁴³ A courtyard of overgrown millet was a common symbol in ancient China for ruins. The image was popularized in commentaries to Mao 65 (*SSJZS*, 4a.2b–3a [pp. 146–7] in which the image of millet bending under its own weight is interpreted as an allusion to the demise and ruin of the Zhou house. See Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 56–57; *WXI*, 353n146, 474n769.

⁴⁴ See Mao 197 in which the poet laments that the highways of Zhou, which were once level and easy to travel, have now become overgrown with weeds. *SSJZS*, 12c.5b [p. 421]; Waley, *Book of Songs*, 177.

⁴⁵ *WX*, 10.17b–18a [p. 158]. Translation by David Knechtges in *WXII*, 213. The statues were reputedly made by Qin Shihuang after he collected all the weapons of his empire in 221 BCE and melted them down to make bell-stands and twelve statues. (*Shiji*, 6.239; *WXI*, 120n158–9). Pan Yue's *Guanzhong ji* 關中記, cited by Li Shan (*WX*, 10.18a), says that Dong Zhuo melted all but two of these statues into coins. Emperor Ming of Wei sought to move the statues to his palace in Luoyang, but his plan was foiled after the statues proved too heavy and became stuck at Bacheng 霸城 (in Baling 霸陵 county, present-day eastern Chang'an 長安 county, Shaanxi; *ZGGJ*, 1385a).

Upon seeing the rubble and debris of the deserted palaces and temples, Pan's despair quickly lessens as he reflects on the virtues of the ancient people who had formerly constructed the sites. As Pan tours the now-barren Han palace and the wreckage of its ritual platform, he laments for chancellors and generals who once built this grand edifice. The ruinous appearance of this former human settlement reminds Pan of the builders' bravery and fortitude. The moral superiority of the past, claims Pan, inspired him to reach for lofty goals just as the ancients had once done.⁴⁶ When Pan sees a pond first used to train imperial navies, which is by then overgrown with vegetables and fruits, Pan realizes that, while the glory of the past has been lost, the efforts of the ancients were not in vain. This gives rise to Pan's hope that a restoration of civilization at this ancient capital is still possible. The rise of Chang'an from its ashes might indicate that Pan's demotion might one day be forgotten and his career restored.

This pond was first dug	伊茲池之肇穿
To train for river battles on wild frontiers.	肄水戰於荒服
The aim was to toil in the distance to maximize military might; ⁴⁷	志勤遠以極武
Truly they did not seek future blessings.	良無要於後福
Yet, its vegetables, potherbs, greens, and fruits,	而菜蔬芣實
And aquatic products of sundry kinds,	水物惟錯
Were more abundant than those of plain and field.	乃有贍乎原陸
Now again in this august age we "examine the land," ⁴⁸	在皇代而物土
Thus, what was once destroyed, we now restore. ⁴⁹	故毀之而又復

Whereas ruins instilled both hope and despair, the latter sentiment gained traction among writers in this era. In his quintessential poem on ruins, the "Wu cheng fu" 蕪城賦

⁴⁶ Conversely, Pan incorporates images of ruins such as the Ji Gatetower 冀闕 (*Shiji*, 5.203; Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 17n3) when recalling wayward individuals responsible for the destruction of these sites. Pan couples images of dilapidated sites with less glamorous events of Chang'an's past to demonstrate that the seeds of the city's destruction were sown long before his time. *WX*, 10.22b [p. 160]; *WXII*, 219.

⁴⁷ Toil in the distance (*qinyuan* 勤遠) was a phrase first used in *Zuozhuan*, Xi 9 to refer to those ministers who assiduously lead troops in battle on the frontiers.

⁴⁸ This line is adapted from *Zuozhuan*, Cheng 2 (Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 346): "The former kings in demarcating and ordering the empire, examined the fitness of the land so as to distribute the benefits." 先王疆理天下，物土之宜而布其利。

⁴⁹ *WX*, 10.28b–29a [pp. 163–64]; translation based on *WXII*, 231.

[Rhapsody on the ruined city], Bao Zhao 鮑照 (ca. 414–66 CE) stresses the feelings of depression by chronicling the decline of the city from its zenith to its destruction.⁵⁰ We find a similar understanding of ruins in Jiang Yan's 江淹 (444–505 CE) “Cong Jianping wang you Jinan cheng” 從建平王游紀南城 [Accompanying the prince of Jianping on a journey to Jinan city], a poem Jiang composed while working as an inspector under Liu Jingsu 劉景素 (d. 476), Prince of Jianping.⁵¹ Written in the springtime of 473, Jiang describes Liu's entourage dressed in fine clothes and preparing for spring rituals with great enthusiasm. In the middle of this poem, however, Jiang abruptly shifts the tone of the poem when the prince and his retinue stumble upon the old city of Chu, now lying in ruin. Jiang reflects on how the once-prosperous city had disappeared completely.

Lordly princes deep in thought,	君王澹以思
Stiff plumes face the [city]walls of Chu. ⁵²	樹羽望楚城
So many years—their robes and swords gone,	年積衣劍滅
Such a distant place—their palaces and lodges leveled.	地遠宮館平
Embroidered bed-curtains at last are silenced,	錦帳終寂寞
Embellished zithers hide their sonic blooms. ⁵³	彩瑟祕音英
Cinnabar granules are truly hard to emulate,	丹沙信難學
Yellow gold can no longer be crafted.	黃金不可成
Transmutation always results in this—	遷化每如茲
Why should we seek to make a hollow name? ⁵⁴	安用貴空名

The narratives and poems written in the early centuries of the Common Era illustrate the ways in which ruins functioned as evocative literary symbols long before Buddhist and Daoist writers. These dilapidated scenes of ancient cities often left poets feeling dejected and

⁵⁰ *WX*, 11.10a–13a [pp. 170–72]; translated by David Knechtges in *WXII*, 253–61. For more on the debate over the dating and circumstances of Bao's composition, see Knechtges, “Pao Chao's ‘Rhapsody on the Ruined City.’”

⁵¹ For biographical sources on Jiang Yan, see *LS*, 14.247–51; *NS*, 59.2447–51; *Jiang Wentong ji*, 378–81.

⁵² Chu refers to the ancient city of Ying, the capital of the Chu state. “Stiff plumes” (*shuyu* 樹羽) is David Knechtges's (*WXI*, 281) translation for the feathers stuck on the top of frames from which ritual instruments like drums and chimes hang. The *locus classicus* for this phrase is “You gu” 有瞽 [Blind men] in the *Shijing* (Mao 280). Waley translates the phrase as “standing plumes” in his *The Book of Songs*, 297.

⁵³ I read the second character of this line as *se* 瑟, as opposed to its variant reading *se* 色, to preserve the parallel structure of bed-curtains and zithers.

⁵⁴ *Jiang Wentong ji*, 106. I have consulted, but departed in a number of places from Marney's translation in his *Chiang Yen*, 24–25.

despondent. On seeing ruins, poets reflected on their own mortality, as well as on the seemingly inevitable decay of human civilization. But ruins were also a highly ambivalent image, and thus the same scenes often led writers to reflect on the heroes of antiquity who once stood or lived on the same site at which they likewise stood. In both cases, writers juxtaposed the past and present, a mental association that often resulted in a change of course in their future course or aspirations. This transformational quality to the image of ruins contributed to its power as a religious image as well. It is to this spiritual dimension of ruins to which we now turn our attention.

(3.3) Ruins as Sites of Religious Transformation

Whereas poets in the early medieval era typically represented ruins as symbols of decay, writers of religious narratives increasingly viewed ancient places as sites capable of leading a viewer to experience a profound spiritual transformation. Bureaucratic records indicate that there was an intense interest in renovating the ruins of sacred sites as early as the third century CE. There was, for example, an imperial restoration of a Confucian shrine as depicted in Cao Pi's 曹丕 (197–226 CE) edict “Yi Kong Xian wei zongsheng hou zhili xiu miao zhao” 以孔羨為宗聖侯置吏修廟詔 [An edict ordering the officials to renovate a temple by Kong Xian, the marquis of the lineage of sages]. Cao writes about the restoration of a temple honoring Confucius that had fallen into ruins, and he draws a correlation between the restoration of ancient temples and political order.

Then came the great chaos throughout the world when the hundred sacrifices fell into oblivion. The temple at [Confucius's] old residence was decrepit and was in need of restoration . . . but when Kong Xian was made the marquis of the lineage of sages the hundred families of the nearby towns came together to revere Confucius. It was ordered for the Lu commandery to renovate and rebuild the old temple. The families

[commissioned] a hundred soldiers to guard [the compound] while they expanded its rooms.⁵⁵ Scholars then came to live here.⁵⁶

遭天下大亂，百祀墮壞。舊居之廟，毀而不修孔羨為宗聖侯，邑百戶奉孔子祀。令魯郡修起舊廟。置百石吏卒以守衛之，又于其外廣為屋宇。以居學者。

Whereas Kong Xian's restoration of Confucius's ancient residence illustrates the interest among nobles in renovating dilapidated historic sites, there is no indication that such places were devotional sites until the fourth century. Many of the earliest written representations of religious ruins are found in the travelogues by Buddhist writers describing their journeys, both real and imagined, to ancient sites in present-day India. One of the earliest records of this sort was written by the monk Faxian 法顯 (337–ca. 422 CE) about his 399 journey to India to collect authoritative versions of Buddhist scriptures and monastic rules.⁵⁷ In describing his travels, Faxian touches on many places where the historical Buddha long before lived and practiced. Faxian writes, for example, about Kapilavastu (*Jiaweiluoyue* 迦維羅越), the birthplace of the Buddha, as a “great scene of desolation” (*da kong huang* 大空荒) that was largely uninhabited and a dangerous place for travelers.⁵⁸ Elsewhere, Faxian claims that the trees under which Buddha meditated and the pools in which he and his family once bathed still existed, but were by then inhabited by lions and other wild beasts.

Faxian also draws attention to ancient Buddhist sites where monks and kings had recently rebuilt or restored these ancient Buddhist sites. Near Kapilavastu, in the town of

⁵⁵ Read *shi* 石 as a scribal error for *hu* 戶.

⁵⁶ *Quan Sanguowen*, 5.4b [p. 1077]; *Sanguo zhi*, 2.77–8. Also see Cao Pi's 曹丕 (187–226) “Enfeoffment of the Descendent of the Sage, Kong Xian Stele” (“Feng zongsheng hou Kong Xian bei” 封宗聖侯孔羨碑), which was written in 221 to commemorate the renovation of this compound. *Shodō zenshū*, 3.166, pls. 59–60; Harrist, *The Landscape of Words*, 234–35.

⁵⁷ Toward the end of his travelogue Faxian notes how Indian masters traveling in China had criticized the defective (*canque* 殘缺) state of the Buddhist teachings in China, and how his own original intention (*benxin* 本心) was to secure an authoritative canon of texts. *T* 2085, 51.864b–c; Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 99–100.

⁵⁸ A sixth-century description of the desolate appearance of Kapilavastu survives the *Waiguo shi* 外國事. See *SJZ*, 1.5. The anonymous author of this text includes a great deal of information about the monuments constructed by King Aśoka in this town.

Rama (*Lanmo* 藍莫), Faxian writes that he found one of eight ancient stupas that King Aśoka had once tried to destroy prior to embarking on his own building campaign. Aśoka was unable to destroy the old monument at Rama because a dragon lived nearby. After writing about how this site fell into decay, Faxian praises the efforts of the monk who was able to persuade a royal sponsor to fund the construction of a dormitory for monks.

[Afterwards] this site became a wasteland with no person in charge of its maintenance. A herd of elephants regularly came to the site and cleaned it by spraying water with their trunks. They further made offerings of flowers and incense before the stupa. An ascetic from one of the surrounding kingdoms once came to worship at the stupa and when he encountered the elephants he frightened and took cover behind a grove of trees. After witnessing how the elephants were making regular offerings, the ascetic was filled with great sadness that there was no monastery (*qielan*) to make offerings at the stupa and instead the elephants were in charge of cleaning [the site]. The monk then gave up the “great precept” [of his ascetic life] in order to once again become a monk. With his own hands he cleared away the grasses and trees, leveled the ground [for construction], and put the place in good order. He was able to convince the king [of this and] to construct a permanent residence for monks; he was installed as abbot. There are still monks living here today.⁵⁹

此中荒蕪無人灑掃。常有群象以鼻取水灑地。取雜花香而供養塔。諸國有道人來欲禮拜塔，遇象大怖依樹自翳。見象如法供養，道人自悲感，此中無有僧伽藍可供養此塔，乃令象灑掃。道人即捨大戒還作沙彌。自挽草木，平治處所使得淨潔。勸化國王作僧住處；已為寺主。今現有僧住。

Faxian’s interest in the present state of these Indian sites is one expression of an increasingly common pilgrimage culture in early fourth-century China. The monk Kang Falang 康法朗 (fl. 307–13 CE), for example, took his religious vows as a young man after reading about the places where the Buddha once practiced—the Twin Trees (*shuangshu* 雙樹), a grove of *śāla* trees (*suoluo lin* 娑羅林) near Kuśinagara where Śākyamuni entered *nirvāṇa*, and the Deer Park (*luyuan* 鹿苑), an estate northeast of Vārāṇasī where Śākyamuni delivered his first

⁵⁹ T 2085, 51.861b. Translation based on Giles, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, 38–40; Beal, *Siyu-ki*, 30–31; Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, 69–70.

sermon.⁶⁰ Inspired by the descriptions of these Buddhist sites, Kang promised to make a pilgrimage to Gayā to see firsthand the surviving traces of Śākyamuni.

Kang Falang was from Zhongshan.⁶¹ He left home at a young age and was skillful at upholding the precepts.⁶² One time he was reading a sūtra when he came across a passage [describing] the Twin Trees and Deer Park. He lamented that he had not met a sage in his lifetime, and was distraught to think that he would not see these holy places. He made a promise to travel to Gayā and see the ruins [of Śākyamuni] first-hand.⁶³

康法朗，中山人。少出家善戒節。嘗讀經見雙樹鹿苑之處。鬱而歎曰，吾已不值聖人，寧可不睹聖處。於是誓往迦夷仰瞻遺跡。

Kang Falang's story reflects the kinds of devotional importance attached to ancient Indian sites. It also indicates that similar ruins were imagined to exist closer to China as well. In the desert lands west of the frontier town Zhangyi, Kang and four companions found a dilapidated monastery overgrown with vegetation and harboring a foul stench. Kang's hagiographer details how Kang encouraged his companions to remain behind at the temple and help its two residents.

[Falang] and four of his brethren took off from Zhangyi and headed off into the western desert.⁶⁴ Within three days they were out of sight of human civilization. On the side of the road they suddenly saw an old monastery in the unpopulated wilderness of woods and grasses.⁶⁵ There were two dilapidated rooms, each with one resident—one was reciting a sūtra, the other suffering from dysentery. These two people lived next door to one another, but did not tend to one another's needs. There was feces and urine strewn across the rooms thus producing an overwhelming stench.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ T 2059, 50.347a–b; GSZ, 4.153–55; XYGSZ, 211–13. The Twin Trees were thought to have originally been four pairs of *śāla* trees surrounding Śākyamuni at his death. One tree from each pair quickly withered away after the Buddha departed. See T 2042, 50.112a. On Deer Park, see T 2092, 51.1015a; T 2127, 54.262c.

⁶¹ Zhongshan 中山 is the name of a commandery in present-day Ding 定 county, Hebei.

⁶² Wang Yan 王琰 (b. ca. 454 CE) specifies that Kang left home during the *yongjia* reign period [February 19, 307–May 11, 313]. This would mean that Kang was born around 290 CE. See MXJ, 91–2.

⁶³ Gayā (*Jiayi* 迦夷, or *Qieye* 伽耶) is a town about one hundred kilometers southwest of Patna, Bengal. This is the location of the Bodhi Tree where the Buddha attained enlightenment.

⁶⁴ Zhangyi 張掖 is the name of a county established in the Former Han northwest of present-day Zhangyi, Gansu.

⁶⁵ In the preceding sentence, the author states that these four men began their journey across the *liusha* 流沙 (“Gobi Desert”), which would imply that they were already in an unpopulated place. It is thus possible that this graph should likely be *ru* 入, which would change the translation to, “there was an old temple sunk into the weeds and trees. Within were two dilapidated rooms . . .”

⁶⁶ T 2059, 50.347b; GSZ, 4.153; XYGSZ, 211. See also MXJ, 91–92.

乃共同學四人發趾張掖。西過流沙。行經三日，路絕人蹤。忽見道傍有一故寺，草木沒人。中有敗屋兩間，間中各有一人：一人誦經，一人患病。兩人比房不相料理。屎尿縱橫，舉房臭穢。

After discovering the ruins of this old desert monastery, Kang Falang was faced with a predicament. He had intended to travel to the western regions to find the ancient places associated with the Buddha's life. But, after discovering ruins much closer to home and in an effort to show compassion for these men, Kang urged his companions to remain at this desert site rather than press onward. Upon hearing Kang's decision, the two residents revealed that they were, in fact, divinities (*shenren* 神人). One of the men revealed himself as a master and encouraged Falang to keep his promise to see the holy sites of the Buddha's lifetime even though his actions at this dilapidated temple were adequate to secure his salvation. The master said:

Your sincerity and zeal is already adequate to reach enlightenment; you do not need to venture off to other countries. [In fact], this will not advance [the cultivation of your mind] at all. All you need to do is to practice with the utmost diligence and not waste any more time. But your merit is insufficient and you will have to fulfill your vow before you return to China and become a great teacher.⁶⁷

君等誠契皆當入道；不須遠遊諸國。於事無益。唯當自力行道勿令失時。但朗功業尚小未純未得所願。當還真丹國作大法師。

Kang heeded the advice of this master and journeyed by himself to the western regions while his four companions remained at the newly renovated monastery. Upon fulfilling his vow to see various Buddhist holy sites, Kang returned to China years later and became a prominent teacher. Kang's story is instructive because, in addition to highlighting readers' interests in ancient Indian ruins, his repair of the monastery of Zhangyi demonstrates that clerics also had a vested interest in renovating temple compounds on Chinese soil. The intervention of the divinities who posed as the monastery's shabbily dressed residents also suggests that these old sites were viewed as places in which humans and divine figures might

⁶⁷ T 2059, 50.347b; GSZ, 4.154; XYGSZ, 211. See also MXJ, 91–92.

come in contact. Kang's encounter with this old building was a transformative experience bringing him closer to salvation.

The mystique of old temple compounds as places where gods intervene into the world of humans was by no means limited to Buddhist monasteries. Consider the report about the events of the late spring of 479 at the Temple of Jizi that Dai Jingdu 戴景度 wrote while serving as an official at Yanling 延陵.⁶⁸ Dai writes that a cantor of that temple heard music emerging from one of the two ancient wells at the site. Dai ordered that the well be excavated, after which workers found two bubbling springs. Inside the second were small yellow wooden strips with yellow words stating that the patriarch of Celestial Master Daoism, Zhang Daoling 張道陵, requested a new temple building in his honor.

In the fourth month of the *jianyuan* reign, there was an official decree reading, "Dai Jingdu, an official of Yanling reports on a matter concerning the Temple of Jizi."⁶⁹ A cantor of that temple claims that music suddenly began to emerge from one of the two ancient wells on top of the site. They thereupon dug the well to a depth of three *chi* and found a bubbling spring. Then a jingling sound came from the east [side] of the site; there they unearthed a second font bubbling up from the earth. Inside this second font were wooden strips about one *chi* in length and two *cun* wide with words etched onto them stating 'The holy man of Mount Lu, Zhang Ling, requests a house of worship.' The background of the wooden strips were white and the words were painted in yellow."⁷⁰

建元元年四月，有司奏：「延陵令戴景度稱所領季子廟。舊有涌井二所，廟祝列云舊井北忽聞金石聲。即掘，深三尺，得沸泉。其東忽有聲錚錚；又掘得泉，沸湧若浪。泉中得一根木簡，長一尺，廣二寸，隱起文曰『廬山道人張陵再拜謁詣起居』。簡木堅白而字色黃。」

One reason why these excavations of sacred sites took hold in early medieval China was that the undertaking was thought to reflect on the lofty virtues of the individuals who

⁶⁸ Dai served under Emperor Gaodi of the Southern Qi (Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成, r. 479–82 CE). See *Nan Qishu*, 18.354. Jizi 季子, or Ji Zha 季札, was the fourth son of the King Shoumeng 壽夢, the monarch who headed the Wu kingdom during the early sixth century BCE. Jizi was recognized as a sage when his father insisted Jizi inherit his Wu kingdom, Jizi refused. After being installed as a prince of Yanling upon his father's death, Jizi traveled to various kingdoms in China on behalf of the Wu kingdom. *Shiji*, 31.1449–64.

⁶⁹ This lunar month corresponds to May 7–June 5, 479.

⁷⁰ "Zou de Jizi miao feijing" 奏得季子廟沸井 [Memorial on securing the bubbling well at Jizi's temple], *Quan Qiwén*, 26.1a [p. 2933].

managed or sponsored these compounds. By interpreting these events as symbols of divine approbation, aristocrats justified the exorbitant cost of the building project. When the Northern Wei Empress Dowager Ling 靈太后 sponsored the construction of the Yongning Monastery of Luoyang in 516, for instance, workers soon discovered thirty golden statues. The empress dowager asserted that this recovery was more than mere happenstance; it was a verification (*zheng* 徵) of her sponsorship of the Buddhist faith. Interpreting the artifacts in this way, the empress dowager was able to divert even more resources for the construction of temple compounds.

There was a nine-storied wooden stupa. Rising ninety *zhang* above the ground, it was topped with a golden spire that rose another ten *zhang*. The whole [structure] soared one thousand *chi* above the ground, and one could see it a hundred *li* from the capital. When excavation commenced for the foundation, [the workers] found thirty golden statues after digging down to the Yellow Springs; this was interpreted as a verification for the empress dowager's devotion to the [Buddhist] teachings. As a result, [she spent] all the more lavishly on its construction.⁷¹

中有九層浮圖一所，架木為之。舉高九十丈，上有金剎，複高十丈。合去地一千尺。去京師百裏，已遙見之。初掘基至黃泉下，得金像三十軀。太后以為信法之徵。是以營建過度也。

The Empress Dowager's "discovery" of these statues was conceived as an event enhancing her public image by publicly displaying the proof of her compassionate nature. Whether the excavations of artifacts were real or contrived events, these discoveries offered rich sponsors an effective way of publicizing their piety and zealotry.

The increasing number of inscriptions commemorating these events underscores the importance of public awareness of these events. An early sixth-century inscription written by Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503–51 CE), the future Liang Emperor Jianwen, for instance, commemorated the excavation of a bell that his brother Xiao Tong 蕭統, the Crown Prince

⁷¹ T 2092, 51.999c–1000a. I have consulted the translation of Wang, *A Record*, 15–16, and Jenner, *Memories*, 148. The Yongning Monastery was located across from the palace grounds of Luoyang, has also yielded some recent archaeological finds. See Wang, *A Record*, 13n1.

Zhaoming 昭明太子, discovered beneath his eastern palace. Xiao Gang wrote this inscription when his brother donated the bell to the nearby Cijue Monastery 慈覺寺 in honor of their mother. Xiao Gang's commemorative text is helpful to analyze how writers represented excavated artifacts as symbols of a sponsor's virtues. Xiao lists a series of historical events in which various objects (e.g., bells, jade, and gold) emerged under miraculous circumstances. Xiao stresses that past reaction to the anomalous events were both positive and negative. The failed political symbols were clearly intended to remind his brother that the miraculous qualities of this discovery can often lead to contestation as well as to praise. Xiao concludes that his brother's donation of the bell to the monastery reflected the crown prince's compassion and humility. While there is no mention here that the discovery of the bell resulted in new construction projects at the monastery per se, it does demonstrate that the recovery of artifacts and the donation to religious establishments was an act brought to the public's attention through such inscriptions.

I have heard about the auspicious signs that miraculously appeared in the ancient chamber of the White Pavilion, and about the echoes of the bell stone suddenly heard at the old hall in Que Ward.⁷² Similar to the great historians [in their] storehouses, or [those who] pour out over their seal-graph scrolls. Just like the ginko beams of an old design encircling the deep purple basilica, or the peppered floor of the site forming [the base for] the jeweled staircase.⁷³ Strike the yi[-vessel] bell of the Shu Ward, and record the numinous writs of blessed places. Although the Wei Temple produced a seal, and the Lu Shrine manifested a jade-disc, [the people worshipping there] made their filial [intentions] clear, and caused disdain

⁷² The first line alludes to the miraculous birth of Cao Cao's first wife, Madame Bian 卞, in 160 CE. There was a yellow mist engulfing the white pavilion (*baiting* 白亭) where she was born; it lingered there for days. Her father, frightened that this was a bad omen, sought out the advice of diviner Wang Dan 王旦. Wang determined the event as an auspicious sign that Bian's mother was a virtuous lady. See *Sanguo zhi*, 5.156n1. The Que Ward (*Queli* 闕里) refers to Confucius's hometown, Qufu 曲阜, and in the early medieval era often was a toponym for the ritual hall where tablets of Confucius's disciples was displayed (see Brashier, "Eastern Han," 1044). This line might refer to a passage in the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家語 [The school sayings of Confucius] in which Confucius bemoaned that he was unable to carry out his mother's funeral properly because he lacked a post (*sun* 簣) on which he could hang his bells and chimes. See Chen, *Kongzi jiayu shuzheng* (BBCS), 9.6b.

⁷³ In his *Changmen fu* 長門賦 [Rhapsody on the tall gate palace], Sima Xiangru describes a woman ascending to the main hall of Magnolia Terrace (*lantai* 蘭臺) in Chang'an. The rafters of this hall were crafted out of ginko and magnolia wood, and these beams reached great heights where they glistened with light. See *WXIII*, 163.

for the propitious tally.⁷⁴ Like when the official Guo Ling feared opening the gold, or like when Yang's Field was laughed at for its jade production.⁷⁵ Thus it is best [to be] like the tree at the court of Ji Wu when Han Qi was ashamed of his fame, or like the graveyard of the Shu councilor's hermitage when Xiaolan was embarrassed of the gravestone.⁷⁶ May the thoughts of all be stirred in deep circumspection, and arise their deepest compassion.⁷⁷

竊以白亭舊室，絕顯禎祥之氣；闕里故堂，暫聞鐘石之響。猶復存諸良史；汗彼篆素。豈如杏梁遺飾，迴成紺殿；椒墀昔處，仍構寶階。啟彝鐘於殊里；記靈文於福地。雖魏廟出璽，魯祠現璧，固以推茲孝咸，惡此禎契。將郭令鄙其開金，羊田陋其產玉。豈宜季武庭樹，愧韓起之譽；蜀相宅墓，慚孝安之碣。伏惟覽啟增思，撫端深悲。

Finders of buried artifacts often bolstered the veracity of their “discoveries” by providing excavated written texts about the origins of these objects. The artifacts, claimed excavators, were buried alongside written texts indicating what the original owners hoped the finders of this treasure would do upon its discovery. Gao Xianlue 高顯略, a foreman clerk (*lingshi* 令史) of the Northern Wei, for instance, discovered a buried treasure in Luoyang with explicit instructions on what to do with the money.⁷⁸ Gao initially saw a red light

⁷⁴ The seal of Wei Temple (*Weimiao* 魏廟) refers to an episode taking place in the fall of 254 when the short reign of the Cao Fang 曹芳 (232–74), came to an end after military general Sima Shi 司馬師 (208–55) defeated Cao in battle. Rather than death, Cao was demoted to the position of Prince of Qi. Cao attempted to use his imperial insignia, a jade seal with a silk string (*xishou* 璽綬), as proof that he still deserved a temple fit for royalty despite his demotion. See *Sanguo zhi*, 4.130n3; *Songshu*, 16.446.

⁷⁵ It is possible that the first line refers to the early sixth century northern official Guo Yi 郭翼, who was ordered to open the golden door of the palace walls (*kaijin yongmen* 開金墉門) and inform Yuan Xiang's 元詳 (d. 504) mother of a plot to kill her son. See *Weishu*, 31a.562; *Beishi*, 19.710. The jade field (*yutian* 玉田) alludes to a story in the *Soushen ji* where an orphan named Yang Gongbo 陽雍伯 was given a bag of magical stones and told that if he planted the stones, jade would miraculously grow. Many years later jade did appear and Yang used these jade objects to secure the marriage to a daughter of a wealthy aristocrat. Before Yang gave the jade to his future father-in-law, however, the young man was ridiculed as a fool. *Xin ji soushen ji*, 8.140.

⁷⁶ The first line refers to a visit Han Xuanzi 韓宣子, the marquis of the state of Jin, paid to the court of Lu in 539 BCE. While in Lu, there was a banquet in Han's honor in which Ji Wuzi sang odes. After the banquet ended Han and Ji went into the courtyard where Han remarked the beautiful appearance of a tree. Ji then sang one more ode about a sweet pear tree whose lyrics led Han to the conclusion that he was unlike the great rulers of antiquity and did not deserve his newfound power. See *Zhao* 2 (*SSJZS*), 42.3a [p. 719]; Legge, *Ch'un Ts'ew*, 583. Xiaolan likely refers to the Han Emperor An of Han 漢安帝 (94–125), the emperor famous for indulging in women and heavy drinking and leaving state affairs in the hands of corrupt eunuchs. I have, however, been unable to locate the specific reference to the official from present-day Sichuan.

⁷⁷ “Dong gong shang jue de Cijue si zhong qi” 東宮上掘得慈覺寺鍾啟 [An announcement of the excavation of a bell at the eastern palace for Cijue Monastery], *YWLJ*, 77.1323; *QLW*, 10.11a [p. 3009].

⁷⁸ *T* 2092, 51.1010c; *LYQLJJJ*, 131; translation based on Wang, *A Record*, 131–2; Jenner, *Memories*, 210. *Tongdian*, 22.19b identifies the foreman clerk as a position established in the Later Han. These officials

hovering above his residence nightly. The mysterious light prompted him to undertake an excavation of the site. At a depth of ten *zhang*, Gao discovered one hundred catties of gold. On top of this cache of treasure was an inscribed placard stating that the gold belonged to the family of Su Qin 蘇秦 (d. 317 BCE).⁷⁹ The inscription also specifies that the finder of this treasure must perform meritorious acts (*gongde* 功德) on behalf of the Su family. Although the inscription does not identify what these “meritorious acts” might entail, Gao interpreted the command to mean that the Su family members desired a monastery to be built in their honor. Gao subsequently used the treasure to convert his residence into the Zhaofu 招福 (“Seeking Fortune”) Monastery.⁸⁰

The miraculous signs and excavation of treasures provided aristocratic sponsors with a convenient justification to convert their residential compounds into religious ones. Duan Hui 段暉, a prefect of Baoxin 苞信, conducted a similar excavation after hearing bells ringing underground near his house and saw five beams of light shining from the floor.⁸¹ Duan discovered a golden statue about three *chi* high as well as two bodhisattva statues sitting on a stand, bearing an inscription by Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289 CE) dated to June 24, 266 CE. After unearthing these objects, Duan was inspired to convert his late fifth century residence, which was the former house of Xun, into the Guangming Monastery 光明寺.⁸²

were selected by administrators in the Bureau of Archives (*lantai* 蘭臺) and charged with keeping official papers.

⁷⁹ The fact that Su Qin was chosen as the deceased donor of this treasure is unusual, but not surprising in this context. Su was likely connected to this grave due to a legend stating that when Su was an envoy of Yan, the people of Qi retaliated by constructing a large tumuli and filling it with large quantities of valuables. Subsequently, the people of Qi quickly depleted their coffers and were unable to fend off Su and the Yan armies when they subsequently attacked. See *Lunheng jiaoshi*, 23.961; Sterckx, “The Economics of Religion,” 875. For Su Qin’s complete biography, see *Shiji*, 69.2241–77.

⁸⁰ Yang Xuanzhi, the editor of this text, notes that this was likely an anachronistic interpretation on the part of Gao since in antiquity “meritorious act” (*gongde*) meant to install a commemorative monument not the construction of a religious order.

⁸¹ *T* 2092, 51.1003c. I have consulted the translations of this passage in Wang, *Records*, 55–56, and Jenner, *Memories*, 171.

⁸² This narrative ends with a vignette about robbers who later attempted to steal the statues from the new monastery but were caught after a chorus of divine voices miraculously alerted the monks of the thieves’ presence.

To the south of the temple was the Yishou Ward where the residence of Duan Hui, prefect of Baoxin, was located. Bells were often heard ringing underground, and from time to time five-colored lights shone in the hall. Much amazed, [Duan] Hui dug a hole at the point where the lights emerged, and there he discovered a golden statue about three *chi*. In addition, [he discovered] two bodhisattva statues sitting on a stand, bearing the inscription: “Made for Xun Xu (d. 289 CE), chief palace attendant and director of the Central Secretariat on the fifteenth day of the fifth lunar month of the *taishi* reign.”⁸³ Thereupon [Duan] Hui donated his residence to be converted into the Guangming Monastery.⁸⁴

寺南有宜壽裏內有苞信縣令段暉宅。地下常聞鍾聲，時見五色光明，照於堂宇。暉甚異之，遂掘光所，得金像一軀，可高三尺。並有二菩薩，趺坐上銘云：「晉泰始二年五月十五日侍中中書監荀勗造。」暉遂舍宅為光明寺。

Excavations and temple (re)construction were two activities individuals undertook for a common goal. The recovery of ancient artifacts justified, and at times funded, the expenses associated with the construction or renovation of temples. These discoveries also functioned as visible symbols of sponsors’ lofty virtues, for they reflected the divine favor of those individuals’ pious intentions. In the early medieval era, the search for ancient artifacts and ruins was itself a kind of devotional activity because the finders of these ancient sites were considered to undergo profound psychological and soteriological changes.

(3.4) *Temple Excavators at the Turn of the Sixth Century*

The stories concerning the positive religious experiences that sponsors underwent as a result of finding ancient sites sheds light on the cultural practice informing Tao Hongjing’s treasure map of Maoshan, as described in the first chapter. This final section illustrates that Tao’s recovery of Maoshan’s past would have been recognizable to onlookers, at least in part,

⁸³ June 24, 266 CE.

⁸⁴ *T* 2092, 51.1003–4a. I have consulted previous translations by Wang, *Records*, 55–56; Jenner, *Memories*, 171.

because by Tao's day there were many individuals excavating ancient sites to fund their religious enterprises.

Individuals responsible for early excavations of temple compounds were represented as relying on miraculous powers to locate ruins, as opposed to consulting written texts, which was the case with Tao Hongjing. Jietuole 撻陀勒, a fifth century abbot living outside of Luoyang, relied on his prescient knowledge to identify the whereabouts of a dilapidated temple. He first told his disciples about the location of a buried structure in the foothills of Luoyang, and then traveled to the site, at which time he told them to begin digging. By the end of the day, the disciples had uncovered the foundation of the main sanctuary, as well as the remnants of a lecture hall and dormitory. They subsequently rebuilt the ancient monastery based on the old ground plan. Jietuole's hagiographer did not disclose the identity of the former inhabitants of this site, and it is presumed that Jietuole and his followers knew nothing of its history.

Jietuole was from originally from the western frontier.⁸⁵ He lived in Luoyang for many years and was well-known and respected by the people there for his ability to do anything he put his mind to. Late in his life he told his assembly of monks that southeast of Luoyang in the Panchi mountains was an ancient bureau temple [i.e., monastery] whose foundation still visible and could be renovated with collective effort. The assembly [of monks] doubted his words so they went to [the mountain] to see if it was true. Upon entering the mountain they discovered a place that was flat with four defined edges. [Jietuo]le said, "Here is the foundation of the monastery." He thereupon began digging and sure enough he soon found the stone foundation of the [ancient] monastery. After [digging] they also found an auditorium and a dormitory. It was all just as [Jietuole] had told them and his assembly was amazed. Together they rebuilt [the compound] and made [Jietuo]le abbot.⁸⁶

撻陀勒者，本西域人。來至洛陽積年，眾雖敬其風操，而終莫能測。後謂眾僧曰洛東南有槃鴟山，山有古寺廟處，基墟猶存。可共修立。眾未之信，試逐檢視。入山到一處，四面平坦。勒示云，「此即寺基

⁸⁵ Jietuole may have been of Gandhāran heritage since *jietuo* 撻陀 was one of many names for that country. See *FGDCD*, 5222.

⁸⁶ *T* 2059, 50.338c; *MXJ*, 89. *T* 2122, 53.492a identifies Jietuole as living during the late third and early fourth centuries. Zürcher (*Conquest*, 278–9) identifies this site as an Aśokan stupa, but I am unsure of how he came to this conclusion.

也。」即掘之果得寺下石基。後示講堂僧房處。如言皆驗，眾咸驚歎。因共修立，以勒為寺主。

In other instances, individuals undertook excavations and constructed temples after receiving visions in their dreams. Two officials, governor Wang Liang 王亮 (d. 510 CE) and district magistrate Gu Hui 顧撫, for example, discovered costly lumber for a Daoist temple after receiving a vision from a deity.⁸⁷ On the evening before the construction was to commence, Wang and Gu dreamt that a man identifying himself as the King of Yancheng 淹成王 donated twenty pillars for the project.⁸⁸

Governor Wang Liang and District Magistrate Gu Hui built a terrace in the capital [suburbs] during the *yongming* reign [483–494]. [At the terrace] they were building the Qizhen [Resting in perfection] Lodge for Li Jingyou, styled, Huiguan, a native of Jinling. On the eve of construction, [Wang and Gu] dreamt that a King of Yancheng donated twenty pillars in an effort to help their construction of a ritual area (*daochang*). They went to a marshland in the middle of the city to locate [these pillars] and they found *nan[mu]* pillars submerged in water.⁸⁹ They took all of the pillars; these equaled the exact number [of their dream]. There is a popular saying that King Yancheng was a person of the Warring States period.⁹⁰

太守王亮、縣令顧撫，永明中啟臺於郊。為晉陵人李景遊，字慧觀立棲真館。將欲締構之夕，夢見淹成王施柱二十，助立道場。尋至城中水處，即見栴柱滿水。取既滿數便沒。俗言他淹成王是戰國時人也。

Wang and Gu later heard that the King of Yancheng had lived in this area more than seven centuries earlier, and it was presumed that the submerged pillars were placed there in antiquity to be revealed for this latter purpose. Wang claimed a right to use these artifacts by attributing their discovery to otherworldly sources rather than simply claiming that they happened upon these pillars while dredging a canal. In so doing, Wang added a layer of

⁸⁷ Wang Liang hailed from Linyi 臨沂 in present-day Shandong and served as an influential minister in the Qi and Liang dynasties (*LS*, 16.267–70). Wang was also a descendent of the influential Daoist clan, the Wang family of Langye 琅琊. For more on Wang's relationship to this family, see Wang, "Zhonggu shidai," 9.

⁸⁸ Yancheng 淹成 is a city southeast of present-day Wujin 武進 county, Jiangsu province. See *DKW*, 7.82c.

⁸⁹ *Phoebe* (or *Persa*) *nanmu* is a large tree most commonly found in Sichuan province. It is a tough wood that does not easily rot and is commonly used in the construction of buildings. See Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 313–14.

⁹⁰ *DZ* 1132, 1.12a [*ZHDZ*, 28.386a]. Translation based on Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 316–17; Reiter, *Kategorien*, 31.

otherworldly mystique to the materials: he identified a deceased king as the donor of these pillars.

This kind of purposeful acquisition of resources by those founding religious enterprises was a prevalent theme in early medieval literature. We have already seen examples of this kind of transmission of treasures between generations in the previous section, where sponsors acquired artifacts on their own properties left by men of the past. Clerics also bolstered their status as religious entrepreneurs by discovering riches through the revelation of buried goods. The hagiography of the monk Huiguo 惠果 (fl. 427 CE), for instance, contains a story about a ghost claiming that while living he had abused his power as a monk and accepted improper bribes.⁹¹ The ghost requested that Huiguo excavate a large cache of money and use the treasure to make a merit offering as absolution for his sins. The ghost identified the location of the treasure buried beneath a persimmon tree. Upon finding the money, Huiguo ordered a collection of scriptures to be copied as security to ensure that the deceased monk's fate would be reversed.⁹²

Long ago, there was three thousand cash buried beneath a persimmon tree.⁹³ Former [residents] never discovered [this cache].⁹⁴ I wish that I might use [this money] to serve as a merit [offering]. After making this request, [the ghost] disappeared.⁹⁵ [Hui]guo informed his assembly about excavating and obtaining three thousand [coins].⁹⁶ He used these to make

⁹¹ There are two extant versions of this story: one in the *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 (X 1523, 77.357c), and one in *GSZ* (T 2059, 5.407c). The *GSZ* version specifies that the ghost once served as a monastery controller (*weina* 維那) at Waguan, the monastery where Huiguo lived. The *MSZ* author includes a dialogue between the monk and the ghost in which Huiguo tried to confirm the ghost's identity only to learn that the ghost could not remember.

⁹² The authors of the *MSZ* and *GSZ* both describe how the ghost later returned in a dream to inform Huiguo that the excavation resulted in the ghost's rebirth in a blissful existence. *MSZ* says "[The merit offering] is enough to ensure my rebirth; there is nothing that compares to this." (當得更生，故未能稱大差於此也) The *GSZ* says "I have already been reborn and have overcome [the sins of] my previous days." (已得改生大勝昔日).

⁹³ *GSZ* specifies that the money was buried beneath the roots of a persimmon tree. For more on the *shi* 柿[柿], or *ruanzao* 軟棗, a fruit that is large and thin-skinned, often of orange or yellowish color, see Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 152–53; Read, *Chinese Medicinal Plants*, 48–49n188.

⁹⁴ *GSZ* omits this sentence.

⁹⁵ *GSZ* omits this sentence.

⁹⁶ The *GSZ* author claims that Huiguo first told his audience about the site and then took them to the excavation. The relevant passage reads, "[Hui]guo then his assembly about the excavation [and money to be] had. [Hui]guo obtained three thousand [coins]." 果即告眾掘取。果得三千。

a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra*. With plenty [of money] left over to organize a fast, he continued to conduct rituals for well over a month.⁹⁷

「昔有三千錢埋東房前大柿樹下。去時不得取。願取為功德也。」言訖不見。果告眾掘得三千。為造法華經一部。餘物設會，會後一月餘日。

By the time Tao Hongjing assumed abbotship over Maoshan at the turn of the sixth century, clerical excavations were not only common but widely publicized events receiving lucrative imperial sponsorships. In an imperial edict circulated in 522, Emperor Wu, Tao's sponsor, announced his intentions to excavate a recently discovered Aśokan monastery and build a new monastery on this "ancient" site. A century later Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667 CE) described the reconstruction of this site noting that the emperor commissioned a squire-compiler, Gu Yinzu 顧胤祖, to compose a stele inscription to commemorate the project.⁹⁸

In the third year of the *putong* [February 12, 522–January 31, 523], they began reconstructing a wooden monastery on the ancient site. [Emperor Wu] provided [funds for the construction of] halls, sanctuaries, dormitories, and verandas; he called it the King Aśoka Monastery.⁹⁹ Mountains surrounded [the site] on all four sides, and there are bamboo groves of a rich verdure. Flowered plants flew throughout the site creating a delightful atmosphere. This was truly the perfect place for those looking for a leisurely escape. [The emperor] arranged for a commemorative stele to be written by squire-compiler Gu Yinzu. Three *li* to the southeast of the monastery was a footprint of the Buddha's right foot, and three *li* to the northeast is a footprint of the Buddha's left foot. Both of these marks were

⁹⁷ *X* 1523, 77.357c; *T* 2059, 50.407c; *GSZ*, 12.465–66.

⁹⁸ The office of squire-compiler (*zhuzuo lang* 著作郎) was created in the Later Han dynasty when historical documents stored in the Eastern Hall (*dongguan* 東觀) were first called "compilations" (*zhuzuo*). It was made into a separate office by Wei Emperor Ming (Cao Rui 曹叡, r. 227–39) and continued to be an important office until the mid-seventh century. *Tongdian*, 26.736–37; *Tang liudian*, 10.301; Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires*, 1.207–8; Rogers, *The Chronicle of Fu Chien*, 259n503; McMullen, *State and Scholars*, 22; Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History*, 11–12. Hucker translates this post as "editorial director" in *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, 184n1442.

⁹⁹ *LS*, 54.790–92 contains a description of the emperor's numerous visits to the King Aśoka monastery and the ruler's bestowal of relic objects for the monastery's stupas. Li Yuqun has translated one of these passages concerning the emperor's visit on October 9, 523 in his "Classification, Layout, and Iconography," 653. Suwa (*Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō*, 67) postulates that the King Aśoka Monastery is the same as Changgan 長干 Monastery, which had an Aśoka stupa monument on its grounds. This connection awaits further research. Emperor Wu's interest in Aśokan culture is reflected in Liang literature in which the emperor's rule is correlated with his Indian predecessor. See Zürcher, "Beyond the Jade Gate," 200; Yan, *Liang Wudi*, 91–125, 208–27, 286–302. Emperor Wu made his connection with Aśoka even clearer when he called himself a wheel-turning sage king (*zhuanlun shengwang* 轉輪聖王, Skt. *cakravartī-rāja*), an ideal Buddhist ruler who rules by the virtuous conduct and compassion rather than by force. Suwa, *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō*, 148–49; Yan, *Liang Wudi*, 99–102; Ono, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, 1.1–3; Yan, *Liang Wudi*, 290.

carved in the rock and it is impossible to deduce which is older. There was a sacred well [located] two *li* north of the monastery. The reservoir [beneath the well] is extremely deep and [is home to] eels.¹⁰⁰ These creatures were commonly referred to as fish-bodhisattva. People often went to the well to make ritual oblations. The fish often heard the sound of praying and jumped out of the water.¹⁰¹

梁祖普通三年，重其古跡建木浮圖。堂殿房廊周環備滿，號阿育王寺。四面山繞，林竹蔥翠。華卉間發飛走相娛。實閑放者之佳地也。有碑頌之，著作郎顧胤祖文。寺東南三里山上有佛右足跡，寺東北三里山頭有佛左足跡。二所現于石上莫測其先。寺北二里有聖井。其實深池中有鰻鰩魚。俗號為魚菩薩也。人至井所禮拜。魚隨聲出。

As we will see in our study of Tao's "Xu Mi Stele" in chapter 5, the erection of commemorative inscriptions was also an integral part of Tao's publicity for his reclamation of Xu Mi's temple. It is thus unfortunate that Gu Yinzu's inscription for Emperor Wu's King Aśoka Monastery is no longer extant, as it would likely provide an outstanding specimen of how writers in the early sixth century characterized such events. Nevertheless, this proclamation reflects the imperial interest in excavating and building at ancient sites during Tao's life. Furthermore, since the emperor had already determined who would compose the inscription before construction began, this edict demonstrates that the composition of texts were critical texts for how sponsors shaped knowledge about these events.

Of all the excavations in the early sixth century, the activities of historian and amateur archaeologist, Zhao Yi 趙逸 (fl. 520–25), are the most helpful in thinking about how Tao's readers may have reacted to Tao's claims about the existence of ancient buildings and artifacts at Maoshan. Before moving to the northern capital of Luoyang in the early sixth century, Zhao amassed an extensive collection of historical documents about Luoyang

¹⁰⁰ The eels living in the well (*manli* 鰻鰩 or *manli* 鰻鱺, *Anguilla pekinensis*) were preferred over marine eels (*haiman li* 海鰻鱺, *Muraenesox cinereus*) and mud eels (*shanyu* 鰻魚, *Fluta alba*) for their medicinal properties. People consumed these eels as a remedy for boils, scrophula, and bowel irritation. See DKW, 12.767n4; Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Fish Drugs*, 58–61; *Bencao jing jizhu*, 436.

¹⁰¹ T 2122, 53.585c.

history.¹⁰² Zhao relied on these antique records and maps to undertake a series of excavations in Luoyang. One of his earliest successes in discovering ancient temples occurred while visiting the garden estate of local nobleman Du Zixiu 杜子休. Standing in front of Du's home, Zhao remarked to bystanders that Du's residence was, in fact, built upon the site of the early fourth-century Taikang Monastery 太康寺. He noted that a certain Wang Jun 王濬 had built a three-story brick stupa at this monastery three centuries earlier.¹⁰³ Pointing at Du's garden, Zhao Yi identified the spot upon which bricks from the stupa could be found. Du ordered that the site be excavated.

The recluse Zhao Yi claimed he was born [during the reign] of Jin Emperor Wu (r. 265–90 CE). He kept a record of past events that had occurred during the Jin. He arrived in the capital in the early years of the *zhengguang* period [520–525], and after seeing [Du] Zixiu's residence, he said with a sigh, "This residence was the [former] Taikang Monastery of the Western Jin." Not convinced, onlookers then asked him about the history of the temple. [Zhao] Yi said, "Wang Jun, the dragon soaring general, had this temple built after his conquest of the Wu. Originally it had a three-storied stupa, which was made of bricks." [Zhao Yi] pointed to [Du] Zixiu's garden and said, "This is the site where the stupa stood."¹⁰⁴

隱士趙逸云是晉武時人。晉朝舊事，多所記錄。正光初，來至京師，見子休宅，歎息曰：「此宅中朝時太康寺也。」時人未之信，遂問寺之由緒。逸云：「龍驤將軍王濬平吳之後，始立此寺。本有三層浮圖，用磚為之。」指子休園中曰：「此是故處。」

Pressed for evidence of this claim, Zhao pointed to a spot in Du's gardens and told Du and other onlookers that when excavated it would yield the remains of a stupa monument that an early patron built in celebration of his military conquests. Du Zixiu ordered that the site be excavated, and the dig uncovered bricks from the monument Zhao described. In addition,

¹⁰² Zhao's extensive knowledge about Luoyang coupled with his old age made some people think that he was born in the reign of Emperor Wu of Jin (265–90 CE). For more on the popular perception of Zhao Yi as a centenarian, see Su, "Luoyang qielan ji zhong de zhihui laoren," 35–40.

¹⁰³ The stupa commemorated the end of Wang's 280 military campaign at which time he was promoted to generalissimo aiding the state (*fuguo dajiangjun* 輔國大將軍) and given a fief as the marquis of Xiangyang 襄陽. See *Jinshu*, 42.1215.

¹⁰⁴ *T* 2092, 51.1006a; *LYQLJJJ*, 83. Translation based on Wang, *A Record*, 78–79; Jenner, *Memories*, 182–83.

excavators found an inscription on the bricks verifying its connection to the general of whom Zhao had spoken.

[Du] Zixiu dug up the earth in order to verify [his statement], and indeed he found several tens of thousands of bricks. In addition, he found an inscription which read, “Respectfully built by Wang Jun, marquis of Xiangyang, palatine ceremonially equal to the three authorities on the eighth day, a *xinsi* day, of the ninth month, which began with a *jiaxu* day, in the sixth year of the *taikang* [reign], a *yiji* year.”¹⁰⁵ [At first people could not believe Zhao Yi’s statement], for at the time, in the garden, fruit [trees] and vegetables were abundant and luxuriant, and the woods were dense. [But with the discovery of bricks underground], people were convinced by what Zhao Yi had said and therefore regarded him as a sage. [Du] Zixiu, for his part, donated his residence and converted it into the Lingying Monastery. The bricks that he acquired were used in the restoration of the three-storied stupa.¹⁰⁶

子休掘而驗之，果得磚數十萬。兼有石銘云：「晉太康六年歲次乙巳九月甲戌朔八日辛巳，儀同三司襄陽侯王濬敬造。」時園中果菜豐蔚，林木扶疏。乃服逸言，號為聖人。子休遂舍宅為靈應寺。所得之磚，還為三層浮圖。

Zhao Yi’s recovery of the Taikang Monastery is analogous to Tao’s excavation of Maoshan in many ways. Like Tao, Zhao Yi rose to prominence because of his command of written texts concerning the history of ancient communities. Furthermore, Zhao led an excavation of the ancient monastery under the auspices of a rich sponsor and subsequently led a renovation of the site on behalf of the sponsor. Finally, Zhao’s recovery of the monastery was perceived as proof that Zhao was a sage (*sheng* 聖), and Du’s encounter with this holy person inspired him to convert the grounds into a religious order. Zhao’s excavation of ancient sites continued years later, when he discovered an old monastery located beneath the current foundation of the Baoguang Monastery 寶光寺. Zhao told onlookers that, while

¹⁰⁵ This date, October 23, 285, is likely a scribal error since the closest date in which the *jiaxu* would fall on the first lunar month two years later in 287. The date might have been written the eighth day (a *guihai* day) of the ninth month (a *bingchen* month), which would correspond to October 23, 285 since Wang died in January or February 286. Either the date in *LYQLJ* or the date of Wang’s death is in error. Chen, *Ershishi shuorun biao*, 50; *LYQLJJJ*, 84n5.

¹⁰⁶ *T* 2092, 51.1006a; *LYQLJJJ*, 83. Translation based on Wang, *A Record*, 79; Jenner, *Memories*, 183.

the stupa looked old, there was, in fact, a more ancient structure buried beneath the surface.

He pointed to the garden and told them what they would find upon excavating the ruins.

Pointing to a place in the garden, [Zhao Yi] said, “This used to be the site of a bathing room. There should be a well five paces in front of it.” Some monks excavated the site, and just as he said they found a room and a well. Although the well had been blocked up, the brick opening was as before. Underneath the bathing room, several scores of stone still remained. At that time, the ground of the garden was level, and vegetables and fruit trees were abundant. All who witnessed this sighed [in disbelief].¹⁰⁷

指園中一處，曰：「此是浴室。前五步，應有一井。」眾僧掘之，果得屋及井焉。井雖填塞，磚口如初。浴堂下猶有石數十枚。當時園地平行，果菜蔥青。莫不歎息焉。

Despite the geographic distance between Zhao Yi's recovery of the ancient Luoyang sites and Tao Hongjing's development of Maoshan, their excavations occurred roughly at the same time. Zhao's excavation of ancient, buried monasteries in Luoyang suggests that there was a great deal of interest in recovering ancient artifacts in temples throughout China. While it impossible to know if any of these events directly influenced Tao's excavation of Xu's temple and the other sites of Maoshan, such narratives at least provide evidence that Tao's development of Maoshan's ancient sites was a manifestation of a diffuse cultural practice of the early medieval era.

Conclusion

This chapter shows that Tao Hongjing's conceptual link between excavation and building as described in the first chapter was not his invention but was, rather, drawn from a prevalent cultural practice in which clerics were commissioned as both excavators and builders of sacred sites. Tao's recovery of ancient artifacts at Maoshan was part of a newly

¹⁰⁷ T 2092, 51.1015a; *LYQLJJJ*, 174. Translation based on Wang, *A Record*, 176–77; Jenner, *Memories*, 233.

emerging devotional culture in which clerics founded new communities by claiming they had uncovered and restored an ancient practice. I focus on the symbolism of ruins in early medieval literature in an effort to establish that Tao's role as resident archeologist at Maoshan was an intelligible role given the wide culture in which he practiced. By examining a disparate collection of poems and narratives from this period, I demonstrate that ruins emerged in this period as a dynamic symbol, which leaders, aristocrats, clerics, and poets could use to represent the theme of the decay of civilization. And, as this period went on, these people gradually restored or built over ruins as a way to revive the past as a relevant model for the present. These writers, Tao included, intentionally construed the past and present of ruins as a historical progression—they imagined not only the past glory of the site but also the circumstances that led to its subsequent decay.

While the earlier two parts of this chapter highlight the significance of ruins as cultural iconography, the narratives in the second half of this chapter are what arguably offer the most insight into Tao's reclamation of Maoshan. All of the clerical excavators shared a similar skill—they could link current phenomena to the past artifacts buried underground. Early examples of these individuals, such as Fotudeng, Huida or Jietuole, possessed a kind of innate ability to see underground without the aid of prior knowledge of the site. But, by Tao's day, it appears that excavators were learned men whose miraculous ability to see underground was aided by a vast library of ancient records and maps. In any event, these stories illuminate a kind of devotional culture surrounding the construction of temple complexes that encompassed all kinds of religious traditions in China at the time.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHITECTURE AND CLERICAL IDENTITY IN LIANG CHINA

In the beginning of this study, I introduced Tao's prospectus for Maoshan's future development as described in his commentary to *Declarations*. Tao's other writings indicate that he thought that aspiring clerics should be knowledgeable about temple architecture if they were to serve as advisors to sponsors. In a letter that he wrote to his disciple Lu Jingyou 陸敬游 in 499 CE, Tao outlines ten abilities that aspiring clerics should cultivate. Tao encourages Lu to develop a working knowledge of temple architecture and landscape design. Lu, writes Tao, should build a lodge that will accommodate travelers and pilgrims, as well as a separate room where Lu could administer the affairs of the lodge and engage in personal cultivation. Tao uses the allusive phrase "four downspouts on soaring eaves" (*siliu feixuan* 四霤飛軒) to refer to the lucrative sponsorship that would enable Lu to establish his own temple institution.¹ By Tao's account, Lu's success was predicated on his disciple's ability to establish a ritual compound under the auspices of a wealthy sponsor. Tao understands clerics

¹ According to Fu Xuan's 傅玄 (217–78 CE) "Wusi yi" 五祀議 [Treatise on the five rituals], four downspouts (*siliu* 四霤) referred to the four eaves on the perimeter of a ritual hall. See *Quan Jinwen*, 46.7b [p. 1723]; *TPYL*, 529.2a [p. 2528]. Here Tao uses the term as a synecdoche for the entire hall that Lu was suppose to build in the center of his lodge. The term "soaring eaves" (*feixuan* 飛軒) appears in early Daoist scriptures as a synecdoche for heavenly palaces an adept visualizes during meditation (*DZ* 1016, 1.16a). By Tao's day, the term also referred to the impressive height of buildings as is the case in the *Jingzhou tuji* 荊州圖記 [Illustrated record of Jingzhou]. The Terrace of the Heavenly Well (*Tianjing tai* 天井臺) in Jiangling county, for example, was recorded as follows: "Its soaring eaves shine in splendor. It backs the city and faces the river. It is fine place to which travelers go in the suburbs." 飛軒光映。背邑面河。寔郊鄺遊憩之佳處也。 *YWLJ*, 62.1119.

not as passive participants in the construction process but as playing active roles in securing funds and designing temple compounds.

The foundation will frame the environs of your lodge; draw [plans for its] construction by making it follow [the contours of the] land. The altar in the ritual hall should be broad and spacious. The [elevated] paths between the loft buildings will connect their heights.² [Men traveling] on public and private business will stop to take rest here. Bringing this building to completion will depend on your efforts alone. For this reason once you have been bestowed “four downspouts on soaring eaves,” [build] a side room next to the corridor flanking [the hall]. It is here that you can find solace in a quiet pose, and the gods will appear to shower blessings upon you.³

爾基架館境，營劃援域。堂壇宏敞。樓路通嚴。官私行止，並有栖憩。繕築之勞，莫匪爾力。今故賚爾四霤飛軒，廂廊側屋。可以安身靜臥，顯祇遐福。

In some ways, Tao’s representation of clerical involvement in building at Maoshan resembles what early historians of Chinese Buddhism called the “second phase” of the development of Buddhist institutions. Unlike the first wave of Buddhist monks, whom historians characterize as charismatic wonderworkers, clerics belonging to this “second phase” were late fifth- and early sixth-century monks who assumed the managerial roles of monastic institutions.⁴ Since Liang clerics were involved in the codification of rules and the collation of scriptures, clerics of this era have been understood as devoted to the banal work of presiding over large, imperially sponsored institutions.

Tao’s representation of the clerical involvement in the construction at Maoshan both in his letter to Lu and his prospectus for Maoshan indicates he envisioned clerics as much more than mere managers of temple institutions. Tao conceives clerics as active participants in the fundraising, designing, and constructing of ritual compounds. This chapter argues that Tao’s conception of the architectural expertise of clerics was an idea shared among the writers during the so-called second phase of Buddhist institutions in China. I demonstrate that,

² In a different stele inscription, Tao stresses the imposing height of these lodges from which viewers could peer out onto endless mountain peaks and distant realms. *QLW*, 47.6a [p. 3220]; *THJJZ*, 194–95.

³ *QLW*, 46.2b [p. 3213]; *THJJZ*, 62.

⁴ Zürcher, “Beyond the Jade Gate,” 200; Lai, *Society and the Sacred*, 232.

as this period developed, monks increasingly promoted their skills as builders of temple compounds to prospective sponsors. I further show that the construction (and reconstruction) of temple compounds was tied to the magnetic, dynamic, and creative qualities of clerics. The clerical expertise in temple building, in other words, was an important measure of religious and “professional” success for both Buddhist and Daoist clerics. As a result, Tao’s writings about the construction projects at Maoshan can be understood as a commonplace feature of religious life in the late fifth and early sixth centuries.

My awareness of the architectural expertise of clerics in medieval China has been inspired by two recent trends in the study of medieval religions. The first group of studies belongs to historians of Chinese Buddhism who have studied the narratives collected during the Liang dynasty as evidence of practices significant in the lived religion of early sixth-century China. Whereas earlier scholars utilized these stories as straightforward descriptions of the development of Chinese Buddhism, these more recent studies show how narratives reflect those skills and technologies significant to readers in this period. While stories may address events occurring in the past, these narratives nevertheless played a key role in how clerics promoted their own areas of expertise, with skills ranging vastly from divination and silk production to medicine.⁵ This chapter will approach the historical narratives collected among Tao’s contemporaries in a similar fashion, emphasizing that a competence in the construction of monumental architecture was another constituent part of clerical identity in this period.

I have also benefited from a recent interest in how religious leaders in other parts of the world established claims of authority by reorienting and redesigning liturgical buildings. I have profited greatly from Maureen C. Miller’s analysis of the bishops in medieval Italy, who lost their political power in the investiture conflict between papal and imperial powers.

⁵ Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 70–86; Young, “Conceiving the Indian Buddhist Patriarchs,” 247–70; Salguero, “A Flock of Ghosts,” 97–100.

Miller's study demonstrates that architecture, which was a visible component of the medieval skyline, enabled bishops to emphasize their cultural and spiritual presence in society.⁶

Obviously, the social dynamics of medieval Italy and China differ a great deal; nevertheless, Miller's methodology of moving beyond the appearance of buildings to a study of them that informs analysis the clerics who built and resided in these structures is a model that we can apply in the Chinese case. In particular, Miller's study illustrates that, while architectural forms might remain fairly stable and fixed, writers often revise the language used to describe these buildings and forms. Tracing the shifts in the written representation of architecture enables us to trace how readers' conceptions of buildings and their occupants change over time.

The first part of this chapter adapts Miller's approach to early medieval China by focusing on changes in the linguistic delineation of temple buildings. I claim that the Chinese sources reflect deeper shifts in the perceived relation between architecture and its creators. I study narratives memorializing the sponsorship and construction of temple compounds in the centuries prior to Liang China to underscore that the practice of temple building has deep roots in ancient society. I lay emphasis on the ways that temple building had been visible as a royal prerogative in China prior to the Liang dynasty. I contrast these depictions of royal architects with an increasing number of stories written about clerical figures responsible for the building of ritual compounds. I stress that the link between clerics and architectural expertise was not introduced with the advent of Buddhism, but was an idea appearing in a variety of devotional contexts closer to Tao's lifetime.

The second part of this chapter shifts our focus to the relationships between Liang clerics and their architectural designs. I begin by analyzing stories edited by three of Tao's contemporaries, which illustrate that writers operating in Buddhist venues during the Liang

⁶ Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, 13, 82–83.

understood a cleric's architectural savvy as an important measure of success. While we no longer possess an extant prospectus of the projects undertaken by these writers, I argue that these stories reflect some of the ideas about Buddhist temples built during the Liang. In the final part, I supplement our understanding of the increasing significance of a cleric's architectural expertise during Tao's day by translating a series of passages, edited during the mid-seventh century, about the clerical architects of the Liang. While no single story or author matches the level of detail of Tao's prospectus in *Declarations*, taken together these stories build a more profound understanding of the intellectual, ritual, and social contexts by which readers would likely have engaged Tao's claims concerning the future of his Maoshan compound.

(4.1) *The Symbiosis of Sponsors and Clerics*

This section analyzes texts written in ancient and early medieval China to highlight how clerics emerged as visible actors in narratives concerning the construction of temples and monasteries. In the first part (4.1.1), I study Chinese narratives about the role of kings who are depicted as builders of temple compounds in early Buddhist stories, and go on to show how many of the conceptual devices in these stories are adapted from ancient Chinese narratives about analogous events. In the second section (4.1.2), I draw attention to stories of clerical figures functioning as architects of these ritual venues. I conclude that the new interest in clerical architects distinguished medieval representations of ritual architecture from ancient depictions.

(4.1.1) *The Royal Sponsorship of Temple Compounds*

Early translators of Buddhist narratives in China envisioned the construction of temple compounds as a royal prerogative. As early as the third century CE, translators of Buddhist scriptures represented royal sponsors as agents responsible for the design and building of temple compounds. In his *Fo ban niyuan jing* 佛般泥洹經 [*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*], a scripture translated between 290 and 306, Bo Fazu 白法祖 depicts a king as the builder of a monastery for a nascent community of monks and nuns living in the decade following the Buddha's death. In addition to the king's role as builder, he also offers the community military protection. The monks, on the other hand, play a passive role in the construction process and hone their skills as editors of Buddhist texts.

The king built a stupa complex, dormitories, and meditation chambers with a total of three thousand buildings.⁷ All of the monks resided there chanting sūtras and meditating. The king ordered that his top minister named Monan to lead three thousand troops to guard the stupa. Mahākāśyapa and Aniruddha worked together [to compile] the Buddha's sutras and precepts; they called it the Four Āgamas.⁸

王立佛宗廟，精房禪室，凡有三千。諸比丘處其中，誦經坐禪。王遣大臣，臣名摩南，將兵三千，宿衛佛廟。大迦葉與阿那律，共報比丘僧，佛經結律；名四阿含。

Early Buddhist translators insisted that royal sponsors should build temple compounds because such projects would have profound soteriological benefits: such places would ensure enlightenment and liberation. In his *Xianjie jing* 賢劫經 [*Bhadrakalpikasūtra*], Dharmarakṣa translates a story attributed to the Buddha in which the latter persuaded a ruler to build a monastic compound. The Buddha claimed that the rooms and pavilions of this compound would produce a vast amount of “accumulated merit” (*jide* 積德) that would

⁷ For more on *fozongmiao* 佛宗廟 (“Buddha's ancestral temple”) as meaning stupa, see Xu, “Chuqi dasheng jiaotuan zhi yanjiu,” 12.

⁸ T 5, 175b.

enable the king to attain “true awakening” (*zhengjue*) and liberation, a claim similar to those espoused by Yang Xi and Tao Hongjing in their representations of Maoshan.

[The king] erected a concentrative dwelling with hundreds of thousands of rooms and storied pavilions. He used red sandalwood to make the beds for the assembly [of monks], and presented a fine throne to the Buddha. Because of the accumulated merit from these actions [the king] was able to attain enlightenment and complete liberation.⁹

興起精舍樓閣房室其數百千。以赤栴檀以為眾床布好坐具貢上其佛。
緣斯積德自致正覺度脫一切。

Early Buddhist writers also insisted that the construction of temples was an activity in which all members of a royal clan could (and arguably should) participate. Kang Senghui 康僧會 (fl. 252 CE) tells a story in his *Liudu jijing* 六度集經 [A collection of scriptures on the six perfections] about the royal members of the historical Buddha’s family, the Śākya clan, who collectively sponsored the construction of a temple. Kang highlights the ostentatious manner of construction—the foundation of the compound was filled with fragrant sandalwood, and the building was adorned with all the treasures of the kingdom. Kang emphasizes the heavenly appearance of the compound by quoting those who were awestruck by its heavenly appearance.

When the Buddha was preparing to return to teach all those of the Śākya clan, the Śākya clan took great interest in erecting a concentrative dwelling in honor of the Buddha.¹⁰ They dug three *chi* deep in the ground and filled [the hole] with sandalwood. They collected all of the jewels of the kingdom and used them to make a concentrative dwelling for the Buddha. [The building] was blazing and brilliant as if it were a heavenly palace. Every single disciple from the neighboring countries all came to see [the compound]. Before the Buddha had even taken residence, his distant relatives came to see [the building]. They said, “The craftsmanship

⁹ T 425, 14.61b.

¹⁰ Whereas “concentrative dwelling” typically refers to the living quarters of a monastery in early Buddhist translations (see chapter 2, part 1), it seems that Kang uses the term here as a synecdoche for the monastic compound. This shift in usage is reflected in *Foshuo zhude futian jing* 佛說諸德福田經 [The sutra as preached by the Buddha on the merit fields of all virtues], where translators Dharmīlōkā and Fāli describe the merits associated within building a stupa (*fotu* 佛圖), monk’s [living] quarters (*sengfang* 僧房), and pavilions (*tangge* 堂閣) in a prose passage, and reiterated the same line in a poetic verse (*gāthā*) as follows: “Build a stupa and construct a concentrative dwelling” 起塔立精舍. T 683, 16.777b.

of this concentrative dwelling is unparalleled among all the treasures [of this land]. It is of the same quality used in the palaces of the celestial thearch [i.e., Indra].”¹¹

佛當還開化諸釋，諸釋欣欣興佛精舍。掘土三尺，以栴檀香填之。撿國眾寶為佛精舍。焜焜奕奕有若天宮。聲聞隣國靡不躍逸。佛未坐之，而彼庶子入觀曰：『斯精舍之巧，眾珍之妙。唯天帝宮可為匹矣。』

Early witnesses of the monastic compounds of Central and South Asia reinforced similar conceptions of sponsors by writing about how the royal construction of monasteries was still a common feature of Buddhist societies abroad. Faxian, the monk who traveled to India at the turn of the fifth century, wrote in detail about the foreign kings who sponsored lavish and ornate monastic buildings in Central Asia. While living for three months in Khotan, Faxian wrote about the imperially funded monasteries surrounding the capital, such as the following account of the King's New Monastery (*Wang xin si* 王新寺):

Seven or eight *li* to the west of the city walls there is a monastery (*qielan*) called the King's New Monastery. This building took eighty years to construct, and spanned the reigns of three kings. It is nearly twenty-five *zhang* high, and is ornately carved and inlaid. Its roof is made of gold and silver, and is composed of many precious jewels. Behind [the monastery's] stupa is a Buddha-hall, which is decorated in the most ornate and sublime fashion. The beams, pillars, doors, and windows are all overlaid with gold-leaf. In addition, the dormitory for the monks is imposingly and elegantly decorated.¹²

其城西七八里有僧伽藍，名王新寺。作來八十年，經三王方成。可高二十五丈，雕文刻鏤。金銀覆上，眾寶合成。塔後作佛堂，莊嚴妙好。梁柱戶扇窗牖皆以金薄。別作僧房亦嚴麗整飾。

This medieval view of temple construction as a royal prerogative was not new to China; it was a longstanding concept well developed prior to the advent of Chinese Buddhist texts. In some of the oldest extant writings in China, authors represented temple construction as symbolic of a ruler's ability to unify his subjects. An early compilation of ancient odes, the

¹¹ T 152, 3.30c.

¹² T 2085, 51.857b. Translation based on Giles, *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 6; Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, xxvii; Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 19–20.

Shijing 詩經, contains poems describing a ruler's ability to design and oversee temple construction. The poet of the ritual hymn "Bi gong" 闕宮 [Closed palace], for example, lauds Xisi 奚斯, Duke Xi's 僖公 (r. 659–627 BCE) son, who constructed a temple venerating the female progenitor of the Zhou dynastic line, Jiangyuan 姜原.¹³ The poet highlights Xisi's selection and processing of materials for this construction: for example, pine and cypress trees were hewn from the nearby mountains to serve as roof-beams. The impressive scale of this building, claims this poet, attracted thousands of subjects who came to admire the architectural marvel, much like the cases of royal compounds in the above Buddhist narratives.

The pines of Mount Culai,	徂來之松
The Cypresses of Xinfu. ¹⁴	新甫之柏
Were cut, were measured	是斷是度
Into cubits, into feet.	是尋是尺
The roof-beams of pine-wood stick far out,	松桷有舄
The great chamber is very vast,	路寢孔碩
The new shrine very large,	新廟奕奕
That Xisi made; ¹⁵	奚斯所作
Very long and huge;	孔曼且碩
A myriad of people come in homage. ¹⁶	萬民是若

Elsewhere in the *Shijing* poets similarly depicted kings as architects and envisioned the construction of these compounds as symbolizing the harmonious relationship between a ruler and his subjects. The ode "Ling tai" 靈臺 [Divine terrace] describes an analogous project undertaken by King Wen (d. 1050 BCE), who constructed a terrace at his Moated

¹³ Xisi built this temple in commemoration of his father's political achievements. The identification of this temple complex as venerating the ancient goddess Jiangyuan is not evident from the ode itself, but is an interpretation supplied by later commentators. For more on the connection of this temple with Jiangyuan, see Shao, "Lusong," 133–34.

¹⁴ Both Culai 徂來 and Xinfu 新甫 are mountains nearby Taishan outside of present-day Jinan.

¹⁵ Both Mao and *Hanshi waizhuan* commentators agree that Xisi 奚斯 is the son of Duke Xi who constructed this temple in his father's honor.

¹⁶ *Shijing*, Mao 300 (SSJZS), 20b.15b [p. 783]. Translation based on Waley, *The Book of Poetry*, 317; Legge, *She King*, 629.

Mound complex.¹⁷ While it is unclear exactly what ritual function this terrace may have had, the poet emphasizes that King Wen carefully planned and measured the site, and when construction began his subjects came in droves to assist.

Construction on the Divine Terrace began, ¹⁸	經始靈臺
[After he] he planned and measured it,	經之營之
All the people worked at it;	庶民攻之
In less than a day they finished it. ¹⁹	不日成之

The idea that ritual architecture had positive soteriological effects was also an idea circulating in China prior to Buddhist writings. In the rhapsodic literature of the Han dynasty, writers represented royal architecture as having the potential to heighten and alter one's perception and mood; the resulting disorientation made onlookers feel as if they had been transported into a heavenly realm. The rhapsody was a genre of ancient Chinese literature in which poets mixed fantasy and reality with evocative, hyperbolic language. Rhapsodists relied on the power of suggestion and outlandish vocabulary to alter the psychological states of readers.²⁰ While the descriptions of the royal architecture in Han rhapsodies certainly were not historical "claims," passages are helpful in determining the range of emotional states associated with royal architecture. In "Ganquan fu" 甘泉賦 [Sweet springs rhapsody], for instance, Yang Xiong 楊雄 (53 BCE–18 CE) recounts an imperial procession in which the emperor reached an idyllic palace with a tower piercing the heavens. The beauty of this palace, claims Yang, had dramatic perceptual effects on the emperor. The hundreds of rooms

¹⁷ The Moated Mound (*Biyong* 辟雍) compound is often cited as one of the first coenobitic institutions in China, a site in which young royals lived full-time and studied the various ritual arts under learned masters. The existence of the site is dubious, and is likely the construct of Han dynasty writers. For more, see Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 205–10; Bielenstein, "Lo Yang," 73–76 and "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty. Vol. IV," 163–81; Kalinowski, "La transmission du dispositif," 774–80; Mansvelt-Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han*, 105–8.

¹⁸ Note that here I translate *tai* 臺 as "terrace" whereas below, in its appearance in late antiquity I will translate it as "tower." This inconsistency represents a shift in ancient China from the early period in which these kinds of ritual arena was a platform of tamped earth versus its later incarnation as a multi-storied pagoda. *Shiming shuzheng bu*, 5.18a; *DKW*, 9.431d.

Shijing, Mao 242 (SSJZS), 16d.4b [p. 579]. Translation based on Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 239; Legge, *She King*, 456.

²⁰ Frankel, *The Flowering Plum*, 202–8.

visible in the palace's façade appeared as waves crashing into one another, and this profusion of rooms, writes Yang, made the emperor's vision blurry and agitated his feelings.

A grand edifice, illusory as the clouds, deceptive as waves,	大廈雲譎波詭
Precipitously piled, forms a tower.	摧囀而成觀
Raising and lifting His head to look on high,	仰擣首以高視兮
His eyes, blurred and blinded, see noting.	目冥眴而亡見
Straight ahead, the view full and flowing, vast and wide,	正瀏濫以弘惝兮
Points to a spacious sweep east and west.	指東西之漫漫
All dizzy and giddy,	徒徊徊以徨徨兮
His soul is dazed and dazzled, confounded and confused. ²¹	魂眇眇而昏亂

As the emperor continued his journey through the palace, writes Yang, his mind and spirit underwent a complete transformation. While the chaotic effect of the massive scale of the palace first befuddled the emperor, he gradually was able to gather his thoughts and stand unfazed before the architectural creation. Yang Xiong's representation of the emperor's tour through this palace is reminiscent of a religious experience since these movements resulted in the cleansing and purification of his mind. As the imperial entourage concluded its tour, the emperor attained a new level of mental faculty and deployed his meditative abilities to transform all that surrounded him.

And then, events change and things transform, His eyes start and ears whirr. The Son of Heaven then sedately stands in the midst of precious terraces, leisure lodges, jade finials, nephrite petals, all crinkled-and-curved, scrolled-and-scalloped. For this is a means to cleanse His mind, purify His soul, gather his vitality, and concentrate His thoughts,²² to influence Heaven and Earth, and receive blessings from the Three Spirits.²³

於是事變物化，目駭耳回。蓋天子穆然，珍臺閒館，琤題玉英，蟬蜩蠖濩之中。惟夫所以澄心清魂，儲精垂思，感動天地，逆釐三神者。

The ecstatic experiences encountered by the emperor of Yang's rhapsody demonstrate that royal compounds in ancient China were conceived as places capable of bringing about

²¹ *WX*, 7.4b [p. 115]. Translation based on *WXII*, 25.

²² I have followed Knechtges in adopting the *Hanshu* reading of *si* 思 ("thoughts") rather than *en* 恩 ("bounty").

²³ *WX*, 7.7b [p. 117]. Translation based on *WXII*, 31.

spiritual transformation in the minds of sponsors.²⁴ While the kind of enlightenment described by Buddhist authors utilized a different vocabulary, there are nevertheless analogous ideas found in notions about royal architecture already circulating in China prior to the translations of Buddhist texts.

(4.1.2) *The Advent of the Temple Architects*

While the royal sponsorship of temple architecture predated both Buddhist and Daoist writings, the early medieval era marks the advent of a clerical culture accompanying these construction projects. Royal sponsors, in other words, not only built these compounds: they also secured the assistance of clerics who would maintain the ritual life of these temples. As early as the mid-third century, Chinese kings sponsored not one but a variety of clerical institutions within their capital. Sun Quan installed both Buddhist and Daoist clerics at imperial compounds in his Wu kingdom. Sun built the Jianchu Monastery 建初寺, for example, after the Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (d. 280 CE) produced bodily relics (*śarīra*) of the Buddha on behalf of Sun.²⁵ Sun summoned Kang in 247 after Kang moved to southern China from present-day Vietnam, at which time Sun demanded Kang give proof of the Buddhist teaching's efficacy. Kang informed Sun about the existence of bones and bodily relics elsewhere but claimed to possess no such object. Sun demanded Kang produce a relic on his behalf, promising to build a monastery for Kang if he succeeded, but he threatened

²⁴ See also Ban Gu's 班固 (32–92 CE) "Xidu fu" 西都賦 [Western capital rhapsody] in which Ban writes about Han Emperor Wu's tour of the Terrace of the Divine Luminaries (*Shenming tai* 神明臺), which rose high in the heavens and pierced the clouds mid-way up its spire. Upon climbing to the top the emperor became terrified, and had to climb back down. *WX*, 1.13b-14a [p. 27]; *WXI*, 133.

²⁵ For more on *śarīra*, see chapter 3, p. 110. As for the extant writings of Kang, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 49–54; Nattier, *A Guide*, 149–53.

punishment if the monk failed. After many failures, a relic miraculously appeared to Kang.

He presented it in an audience with the emperor and was subsequently installed as abbot.

[Kang] placed the *śarīra* on iron anvils and had strong men beat it. Thereupon the anvils were all smashed but the *śarīra* was unharmed. Sun Quan was greatly pleased [with this miracle], and immediately had a stupa constructed for it. Since this was the first occasion that there was a Buddhist monastery [in Sun's capital] it was called Jianchu ("Setting the Start") Monastery.²⁶

乃置舍利於鐵砧[石*追]上，使力者擊之。於是砧[石*追]俱陷舍利無損。權大歎服，即為建塔。以始有佛寺故號建初寺。

Sun's construction of monastic compounds on behalf of clerics was not an activity limited to those with Buddhist affiliations. Early third-century CE ascetic Jie Yan 介琰, for example, was given his personal palatial temple (*gongmiao* 宮廟) by Sun Quan after the former performed a series of magical feats on behalf of his royal sponsor. Initially, Sun hoped to study the arts of transformation (*bianhua* 變化) with his resident cleric. But Sun grew angry with Jie after making a series of attempts to study at Jie's palatial temple. Jie's appointment abruptly ended when Sun ordered Jie to be put to death.

The Wu ruler kept [Jie] Yan [in his entourage] and constructed a palatial temple [for his use]. In the course of a single day, the ruler would send countless people to make sure [Jie] had all he required. Sometimes [Jie] Yan would take on the appearance of a child; other times he would look like an old man. Since [Jie] did not require food, he refused to accept any of the provisions the ruler offered.²⁷

吳主留琰，乃為琰架宮廟。一日之中，數遣人往問起居。琰或為童子，或為老翁。無所食啖，不受餉遺。

While the bond between ruler and cleric appears to have coalesced very early in the development of Buddhism and Daoism, there is little evidence that these early clerics played

²⁶ T 2059, 50.325c; GSZ, 1.16; XYGSZ, 25. The story of Kang Senghui and his production of this relic is translated by Hirai, "Kōsōden no chūshakuteki kenkyū [3]," 7–8; Chavannes, "Seng-houei," 204–05; Lu, *Gu xiaoshuo*, 366–68; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, 52; Kieschnick, 32.

²⁷ CXJ, 18.433. For a shorter variant of this story, see *Xin ji shoushen ji*, 52n29. I have consulted the translation in Dewoskin, *In Search of the Supernatural*, 11, but I have departed from it in a number of places. While this practitioner has a different name than the next practitioner (Jie Xiang) the temporal setting and content of these stories suggest that they may be the same person. For the other tales of Jie Xiang, see Campamy *To Live*, 423–26.

a role in designing or constructing these compounds. However, there is scant evidence that the role of the cleric architect might have preceded Buddhism and Daoism.²⁸ In the first-century BCE collection of hagiographies *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳, editor Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) tells the story of Lupigong 鹿皮公, an ancient ascetic who gained renown for his construction of a gallery suspended above mountain springs.²⁹ Prior to building this gallery, Lupigong served as the carpenter of a regional bureau in what is present-day Jinan. After convincing the head of this administrative center to sponsor the construction of the gallery, Lupigong led a team of thirty workers to the proposed site. The gallery took much longer to build than expected, but, in the end, the structure reached a height of four stories and was designed as a series of concentric circles connected by freestanding staircases (*tidao* 梯道).

Lupigong was a man of Zichuan. As a young man he was a junior clerk in the carpentry bureau [in Zichuan].³⁰ With his hands he could make practically anything. Atop a precipitous mountain there was a sacred font inaccessible to visitors.³¹ The junior clerk requested that the head of his bureau [send] thirty carpenters and axmen [to the font] and make a gallery hanging [over the font and rising in] concentric circles.³² He

²⁸ Builders were a social class that predated the early medieval era. “Carpenters” (*mugong* 木工), for instance, were listed as the builders of imperial compounds in the *Liji* (SSJZS), 4.24a–26b [pp. 81–82]. The author of the *Liji* even claims that the office of carpenter was first established in the Shang dynasty. I have, however, found no individual names listed as a “builder” (*gong* 工) or “workmen” (*jiang* 匠) prior to the early medieval era.

²⁹ This kind of mountain shrine seems to have been a common architectural feature during in the Han dynasty. In a memorial submitted to the throne on January 27, 180 CE, Fan Yi 樊毅 describes a trip he made to a mountain shrine (*ci* 祠) at Huashan in December 178. Fan notes that the temple building (*miaoshe* 廟舍), as well as the ritual vestments and accouterments (*zhaiyi jiqi* 齋衣祭器) were in need of repair. Fan goes on to describe how he oversaw the collection of taxes from nearby residents to restore the shrine to its former appearance. See his “Shang yan fu Huashan xiamin zutian kou suan zhuang” 上言復華山下民租田口算狀 in *Quan Hou Hanwen*, 82.7a–b [p. 915].

³⁰ Zichuan is an area east of present-day Jinan.

³¹ The *cen* 岑 of the compound *censhan* 岑山 might also read as a proper name, i.e., Mount Cen. I have found no evidence that such a mountain exists. The *SJZ* reads this passage as *shancen* lending credence to the reading that *cen* is simply describes a small, but extremely precipitous peak. See *LXZ*, 120n3.

³² It is unclear whether Lupigong’s gallery “hung” (*xuan* 懸) over the font or if the structure merely sat perched on top of the cliff. It is also unclear what *zhuanlun* 轉輪 (“spinning wheel”) might describe. It could mean the four levels of the gallery revolving independent of each other, or it could simply refer to the circular shape of the gallery’s outer shell. If it is the latter it is unclear how this structure might differ from the more conventional term *chongge* 重閣 (“storied pavilion”), a circular or octagonal tower. *Chongge* described early Buddhist architecture such as the tall towers in Dharmarakṣa’s (d. 316 CE) description of a Buddhist monastery in *Xianjie jing* 賢劫經 [*Bhadrakalpikasūtra*] (T 425, 14.60a).

[subsequently] made a number of spontaneous changes to his original plan. In a few dozen days, he constructed four stories of stairways.³³

鹿皮公者，淄川人也。少為府小吏木工。舉手能成器械。岑山上有神泉，人不能至也。小吏白府君，請木工斤斧三十人，作轉輪懸閣。意思橫生。數十日，梯道四間成。

After completing the construction of the gallery atop this mountain font, Lupigong retired from his carpentry post and took up residence in a shrine dwelling (*cishe* 祠舍) nearby, where he sustained himself by drinking the waters of this divine font. After a deluge destroyed the entire commandery where Lupigong had previously served as carpenter, he took permanent residence in the gallery he had designed decades earlier.

[Lupigong] went to the peak of this mountain and built a shrine dwelling nearby [the font]. He was determined to never leave these two places [i.e., the gallery and his residence]. For seventy years he ate holy herbs and drank from the [waters of the] divine font. [At that point] the waters of Zi[chuan] began to rise and [Lupigong] forewarned his relatives. He took over sixty relatives up the mountainside. The water then drenched the commandery and tens of thousands drowned. The junior clerk left his family after ordering them to return to the plains. He put on a cloak of deerskin and ascended the gallery. He continued living there for over a hundred more years and would sell medicinal [herbs] in the city.³⁴

上其巔，作祠舍，留止其旁。絕其二間以自固。食芝草，飲神泉，且七十年。淄水來，山下呼宗族家室。得六十餘人，令上山半。水盡漂，一郡沒者萬計。小吏乃辭遣宗家，令下山。著鹿皮衣，遂去，復上閣。後百餘年，下賣藥於市。

Although Lupigong doubled as an architect and religious practitioner, stories about similar individuals living in ancient China are rare. However, examples of religious practitioners who design holy structures for their own use do appear. The well-known poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433 CE), for example, wrote a poem about crossing rivers and ascending mountains in search of a construction site for a temple. He cut through thick

³³ LXZ, 119–21. I have relied on the translation by Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan*, 150–52. *Liexian zhuan* is a collection of hagiographies purportedly circulated in 18 BCE by Liu. For more on the authorship and preservation of this collection, see Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan*, 3–8; Campamy, *Strange Writing*, 40–41; Schipper, *Taoist Canon*, 114. Scholars have recognized that some of the attributions of passages to the LXZ as problematic. See Pelliot, “Le Fou-nan,” 266, 275; Nie, “Chongyin,” 1–4; Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 75–78; Campamy, *To Live*, 125–26, 488.

³⁴ LXZ, 119–21. Translation based on Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-sien tchouan*, 150–52.

undergrowth, established trails, and built a series of buildings, including a scriptorium (*jingtai* 經臺) and a lecture hall (*jiangtang* 講堂). Next to a stream, Xie constructed a meditation chamber (*chanshi* 禪室) and built a dormitory for monks. Xie associates the idyllic compound with images of antiquity, making him feel as though he had stepped into a different time. This suggests that that, by the turn of the fifth century, writers conceived of monastic architecture as transporting the minds of onlookers, much as the ancient imperial buildings impressed emperors.

I built a scriptorium,	建經臺
To lean against the northern hill.	倚北阜
I constructed a lecture hall.	築講堂
Beside a precipitous peak	傍危峰
I set a meditation chamber.	立禪室
Overlooking a deep stream	臨浚流
I placed houses for monks.	列僧房
By tall trees a hundred years old	對百年之高木
One receives the sweet fragrance of a myriad ages. ³⁵	納萬代之芬芳

Writers involved in Daoist communities during this same period also began expressing their concern over how Daoist architecture should be constructed.³⁶ Lu Xiuqing 陸修靜 (406–77 CE), for example, wrote that Daoist practitioners in southeast China had all constructed oratories by the mid-fifth century. In his *Lu xiansheng daomen kelue* 陸先生道門科略 [Abridged Daoist liturgy of master Lu], Lu expresses dismay over how his contemporaries had neglected to preserve the sanctity of the ritual chamber. In contrast to the chaotic appearance of the Daoist chambers of his day, Lu offers a vision of a structure that

³⁵ “Shan ju fu” 山居賦. See Chen, “Cong ‘shan ju fu,’” 87–91. Translation based on David Knechtges’s unpublished version.

³⁶ Wang Ningzhi 王凝之 (d. 399), a Celestial Masters follower in southeast China at the turn of the fourth century, writes how he used a secluded chamber to procure divine in fending off the oncoming rebel Sun En 孫恩 (d. 402 CE) and his army. *Jinshu*, 80.2103; Eichhorn, “Description of the Rebellion,” 338–39; Miyakawa, *Chūgoku shūkyōshi kenkyū*, 205–06; Ishii, “*Shinkō ni toku*,” 137. See also Kou Qianzhi’s 寇謙之 (365?–488) *Laojun yinsong jiejing* 老君音誦誡經 [Book of the hymnal rules of Lord Lao] in which Kou discloses a series of admonitions revealed by Laozi in 415 regarding the use of chambers. *DZ* 785, 16a [ZHDZ, 8.568b]; *Weishu*, 114.3051.

returned to a simple layout of a room clear of altars and icons. For Lu, a ritual chamber should be a relatively simple place needing only incense and the writing tools that a Daoist priest used in offering petitions to the gods.

For the household worshipping the Dao, the silent chamber is a place to be revered. The structure should be separate, not joined with other buildings. Inside it should be pure and empty, not cluttered with extra things. When coming and going, do not go crashing in and out recklessly. The room should be sprinkled and swept and kept immaculate and austere, like a dwelling gods. Place in it only four things: an incense burner, an incense lamp, a petition table, and a scholar's knife. Plain and unadorned, expenses for it should amount to just one hundred or so cash. Nowadays those who mix with the profane have altars, icons, banners, and all manner of ornament.³⁷

奉道之家，靖室是致誠之所。其外別絕，不連他屋。其中清虛，不雜餘物。開閉門戶，不妄觸突。灑掃精肅，常若神居。唯置香爐、香燈、章案、書刀四物而已。必其素淨，政可堪百餘錢耳。比雜俗之家，床座形像幡蓋眾飾。

While Lu's vision of construction certainly demonstrates that clerics argued for and against temple plans, there is nothing in this text suggesting that people viewed clerics as experts in construction. A majority of the texts written in the fifth century indicate the royal sponsors—rather than their clerics—were viewed as the primary agents in building temple compounds. In a stele monument erected for the renovation of the Dhūta Monastery between 494 and 497 in present-day Wuchang 武昌, author Wang Jin 王巾 (d. 505 CE) recounts the history of the monastery by first praising its founder, Shi Huizong 釋慧宗, who built the initial facilities on the outskirts of Danyang. In response to Shi's financial needs, a senior secretary in the military, Kong Ji 孔覲, “mowed the grass and cleared the woods” and donated the initial construction costs. Another official, Cai Xingzong 蔡興宗 (ca. 420–72 CE), sponsored the construction of a ritual platform.

In the fifth year of the *daming* reign [January 27, 461–February 14, 462], [Shi Huizong] began to erect a reed thatch [hut] ten *zhang* square to

³⁷ *DZ* 1127, 4b [*ZHDZ*, 8.557b]. My translation is adapted from Nickerson, “Abridged Codes,” 355. Also see Yamada, *Rikuchō Dōkyō*, 133; Masuo, *Dōkyō no kyōten*, 121; Maruyama, *Dōkyō girei monjo*, 45–46.

shelter the scriptures and statues. The senior administrator of the Rear Army and governor of Jiangxia [present-day Wuchang], the honorable Kong Ji (416–66), then ordered the grass cut and the woods cleared so he could build a chamber for perambulation.³⁸ The general [in charge of] pacifying the west, the prefect of Yingzhou, and earl of Jiang'an, the honorable Cai Xingzong, had the foundation raised to build a tall pagoda, as well as a hall for meditation and recitation.³⁹

宋大明五年，始立方丈茅茨，以底經像。後軍長史江夏內史會稽孔府君諱覬，為之薙草開林，置經行之室。安西將軍郢州刺史江安伯濟陽蔡使君諱興宗，復為崇基表剎，立禪誦之堂焉。

Wang writes about the renovation of the Dhūta Monastery as resulting from the efforts of both clerics and the aristocratic sponsors. Wang uses architectural metaphors to describe the efforts of clerics to maintain the monastery—the monk Sengqin 僧勤 “realigned the halls and eaves” (*zuanxiu tangyu* 纂脩堂宇). The majority of Wang’s praise was directed to the royal sponsors who renovated the compound, which had fallen into disrepair. Wang extols the virtues of Emperor Ming (Xiao Luan 蕭鸞, r. 494–98), the ruler who ordered the governor of Yingzhou, Xiao Baoxuan 蕭寶玄, to refurbish the ruins of this temple.⁴⁰ Thanks to their wisdom and foresight, claims Wang, the royal family brought this temple back from oblivion. Wang depicts this royal rebuilding as a physical reminder to onlookers of the peaceful society that the Xiao family fostered.

The followers of Seng[qin] were “silent—there was no one.”⁴¹ The rafters and [roof]beams were dilapidated with no discernable structure. “This makes one heave a long, deep sigh, alas!”⁴² It is only the Qi [administration] who have inherited the great name of the Five Thearchs, and inherited the legacy of the Three Kings . . . have “upheld and renewed”

³⁸ For Kong’s biography, see *Songshu*, 84.2153–64.

³⁹ *WX*, 59.8b [p. 829]. I have relied on Richard Mather’s translation in his “Wang Chin’s ‘Dhūta Temple Stele Inscription,’” 349. For Cai’s biography, see *Songshu*, 57.1573–85.

⁴⁰ Xiao is the third son of Emperor Ming. His biography can be found in *Nan Qishu*, 50.863–64 and *Nanshi*, 44.1120–21. Note that there is a Liu Xuan 劉諱 who is also mentioned as being responsible for the restoration of this site. Li Shan, in his commentary to the inscription, says that Liu was the elder official who helped Xiao manage his affairs, since the latter was still too young.

⁴¹ Wang quotes a passage from the *feng* 豐 (fifty-fifth) hexagram of the *Zhouyi* (*SSJZS*), 6.4a [p. 127]. There the author writes about a misfortune of a man who built walls in his house so that it was soundproof from the outside world.

⁴² This is a quote from the Han dynasty writer Jia Yi who laments that he lived in an age without a stable government. He likens his precarious position to crossing a river without a rope or rudder. *Hanshu*, 48.2247.

the ancient things, and have “strengthened and saved” [the monastery] from many ills.⁴³

僧徒聞其無人，椳椳毀而莫構。可為長太息矣！惟齊繼五帝洪名，紐三王絕業……惟新舊物，康濟多難。

The earliest extant evidence of clerics who, like Sengqin, were associated with the construction of ritual compounds dates to the mid- to late fifth century CE, when writers represented monks as receiving commissions to design and build temples. This new interest in the clerical building of compounds is reflected in the *Shanjianlū piposha* 善見律毘婆沙 [*Samantapāsādikā*], a text translated in 488 CE by Saṃghabhadra (Sengqiebatuoluo 僧伽跋陀羅) at Guangzhou’s Zhulin Monastery. The text contains a story about an early Buddhist community of monks, who in the wake of Buddha’s death discovered old monasteries of Rājagṛha in disarray.

All the monks went to Rājagṛha where they saw eighteen monasteries that were abandoned and in ruins. After the Buddha’s passing, all of the monks [who used to live there] left all their belongings and departed; this is why the sites were now in such disarray. Since there were five hundred virtuous monks who still followed the Buddha’s teachings they set out to renovate these dwellings for fear that if they did not that their rivals might say, “When the śramaṇa Gautama [i.e., Buddha] was in the world you built up all of these dwellings, but upon his passing into nirvāṇa you abandoned them and departed.”⁴⁴

一切比丘眾，至王舍城。爾時見十八大寺一時頽毀。如來滅後，諸比丘衣笕諸物縱橫棄散而去；是故狼藉。五百大德比丘順佛教故，修護房舍，若不修護，外道當作此言：『瞿曇沙門在世時修治房舍，既涅槃後棄捨而去。』

After witnessing the ruined compounds of Rājagṛha, the disciples convened and decided that it would be best to restore the temples, for fear that their entire community might be slandered if they let these places fall into deeper decay. Mahākāśyapa (Mohejiaye 摩訶迦

⁴³ WX, 59.9a–b [p. 830]. I have relied on Richard Mather’s translation in his “Wang Chin’s ‘Dhūta Temple Stele Inscription,’” 350–51. Upheld and renewed (*weixin* 維新) is a phrase from Mao Ode 235 (SSJZS), 16a.6b [p. 533] describing how the ancient Zhou state preserved their mandate to rule over China. Strengthened and saved (*kangji* 康濟) is a phrase featured in the *Shangshu* (SSJZS), 17.3a [p. 254] where the author lauds the royal house for helping the less fortunate.

⁴⁴ T 1462, 24.674b.

葉), the elder disciple who presided over the first Buddhist council, then led a band of monks to visit Ajātaśatru, the king who ruled over Rājagṛha. Mahākāśyapa requested that the monks receive a sponsorship that would enable them to “renovate and guard” (*xiuhu* 修護) the dilapidated structures. After obtaining approval, Mahākāśyapa quickly set to work improving the appearance of these compounds. Impressed by the monks’ work, Ajātaśatru told the monks he would sponsor a new construction project. The author goes on to praise the miraculous speed and skill by which the monks completed the project.

The assembly of monks replied, “You must first build a lecture hall.” The king then asked, “Where should I begin construction?” And [the monks] replied, “You first build it beside the meditation room at Mount Dipannaboluo (Dipannamita?) for it is a quiet place.” The king replied, “Fantastic!” Then Ajātaśatru used his mighty power and quickly built the [lecture hall] as if he employed the workers of the second heaven [of Mount Sumeru]. Each of the ridgepoles, beams, rafters, and columns, as well as the partitions, walls, and stairways were all carved with marvelous engravings. [Ajātaśatru] also adorned the top of the lecture hall with precious jewels, and suspended [strings of] flowers hanging in a beautiful profusion. The ground was likewise covered [in flowers] and all of these traits made [the hall] seem no different than a celestial palace.⁴⁵

眾僧答曰：『先立講堂。』王問：『何處起戴？』答曰：『可於先底槃那波羅山邊禪室門邊造，此中閑靜。』王答：『甚善！』於是阿闍世王威力，猶如第二忉利天毘舍技巧，須臾之頃即立。成辦棟梁椽柱，障壁階道，皆悉刻鏤種種異妙。於講堂上，以珍玩妙寶而莊嚴之，懸眾雜花繽紛羅列。地下亦復如是，種種殊妙猶如梵天宮殿無異。

The monks in Saṃghabhadra’s narrative play a much more substantial role in actively seeking out sponsors and also in conveying their architectural expertise by identifying what an ideal compound might look like. This shift in the written representation of clerics not merely as occupants but as builders of temples reflects a key conceptual shift of the fifth century. Unlike the sponsors of antiquity, who were imagined as the principal builders of temples, the sponsors in Saṃghabhadra’s translation look to the monks who were the authorities of what these compounds should look like. The increased role of clerics in the

⁴⁵ T 1462, 24.674b.

building of temple compounds is even more pronounced in the writings of the Liang dynasty like those of Tao Hongjing. As we shall see below, the architectural expertise of clerics was a concept that many of the writers of Buddhist texts shared with Tao.

(4.2) *The Representation of Temple Architecture in the Liang Dynasty*

The second part of this chapter analyzes hagiographies written during the Liang dynasty about the role of clerics who served as designers, builders, and consultants in the construction of monastic compounds in China. I focus on three authors who collected and edited hagiographies during the lifetime of Tao Hongjing in an effort to contextualize Tao's editorial shaping of Maoshan. While there is little extant physical evidence of Buddhist compounds built during the Liang, I argue that we can glean a great deal about the architectural expertise of clerics by studying narratives about clerical builders. I further offer evidence that shows how editors of these stories, like Tao, had vested interests in the building projects of the Liang dynasty in addition to their collation of these texts.

(4.2.1) *Sengyou*

One of Tao Hongjing's contemporaries sharing his interests in editing religious texts and building temple compounds was Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 CE). As early as the 480s, Sengyou received an imperial commission to visit various monasteries in present-day Jiangsu to collect and edit various *vinaya* ("monastic rules"). According to Huijiao's 慧皎 (497–554 CE) *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 [The traditions of eminent monks; see below], Sengyou was, like Tao, a religious entrepreneur who raised funds from lay sponsors in an effort to build up the

holdings of his library, as well as to expand the buildings of two monastic compounds that he managed. Sengyou's skill as a manager of monastic affairs was most apparent in his ability to oversee projects to expand existing compounds and to build new ones. Huijiao praises Sengyou for his creative architectural designs and the reliability of his measurements. By the end of his career, Sengyou's success as a builder had reached the point where he was sought after as a consultant for large-scale construction projects undertaken by sponsors in southern China.

Whatever alms were given by the faithful he used entirely for bettering of Dinglin and Jianchu [Monasteries], and for the repairing of other monasteries⁴⁶ . . . He also built up a collection of scriptures, and examined and collated its rolls and scrolls. If monasteries and temples display the words of the Law for all to see, this is wholly due to his efforts. [Seng]you was by nature gifted with ingenious ideas, and he was able to estimate measurement by sight and to calculate by heart. Moreover, when craftsmen would rely on a standard [of measurement], to the foot and to the inch, there would be no missing of the mark. Thus all invited [Seng]you to inaugurate [construction projects], such as the great images as those of Guangzhai and Sheshan, and the stone Buddha(s) of Shan Prefecture, by measuring and drawing up the plans.⁴⁷

凡獲信施，悉以治定林，建初，及修繕諸寺.....及造立經藏，搜校卷軸。使夫寺廟開廣，法言無墜，咸其力也。祐為性巧思，能目准心計。及匠人依標，尺寸無爽。故光宅，攝山大像，剡縣石佛等，並請祐經始，准畫儀則。

As Sengyou's hagiography attests, temple compounds at the turn of the sixth century were considered centers from which sponsors proselytized and proclaimed Buddhist teachings. Consequently, Sengyou's architectural creations were valued both for the functional need to house the growing monastic population and for his innovative designs, which attracted

⁴⁶ The Jianchu Monastery was founded by Sun Quan in 247 in the aforementioned commemoration of Kang Senghui's obtainment of a relic. The Dinglin Monastery was located at Zhongshan 鍾山 in southeast Xinyang 信陽 county, Henan province (ZGGJ, 1303a). On the founding of Dinglin, see Tang, *Han Wei*, 2.417.

⁴⁷ T 2059, 50.402c; GSZ, 11.440; XYGSZ, 769. Translation based on Link, *Shih Seng-yu*, 23–24. For more on Sengyou's biography, see Schmidt-Glintzer, *Das Hung-ming chi*, 14–20; Li, *Fojiao wenyi seng*. Guangzhai 光宅 and Sheshan 攝山 were two of the most prominent temples in the early sixth-century Liang capital. Guangzhai was an old aristocratic villa converted into a monastic compound in 502. Sheshan is in present-day Jiangsu in an area famous for the production of medicinal herbs (Tang, *Han Wei*, 2.795). Shan prefecture was in the Shaoxing area of present-day Zhejiang; the religious orders of Shan were the focus of Xi Chao's 希超 (336–77 CE) *Dongshan sengzhuan* 東山僧傳. See Wright, "Biography and Hagiography," 422.

visitors and pilgrims. Potential sponsors, in other words, sought the services of Sengyou's skills as an architect, contractor, and consultant because of his ability to translate the "words of the Dharma" (*fayan* 法言) into physical form in his various building and monuments.

There are no physical remains of Sengyou's architectural creations, nor are there any written texts, such as inscriptions or letters casting light on what distinguished Sengyou's work from that of his contemporaries. We do, however, possess two anthologies compiled by Sengyou, the *Hongming ji* 弘明集 [Anthology of broad understanding] and *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 [Genealogy of Śākyamuni], as well as one catalogue, the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 [Compilation of notes on the translation of the Tripitaka].⁴⁸ From these compilations, we can glean some insight as to how Sengyou might have imagined the role of clerics in the construction of monastic compounds.

Among the hagiographies Sengyou collected, the story of the Kashmiri monk Dharmamitra (Tanmomiduo 曇摩密多, 356–442 CE) offers the most insight into the kinds of temple architects Sengyou admired. Dharmamitra was detained as a young man by the king of Kucha for years until a spirit appeared in the king's dreams telling him to let the monk travel eastward. The king reluctantly let Dharmamitra go, at which point the monk headed east toward China.⁴⁹ Dharmamitra eventually arrived at the western Chinese outpost of Dunhuang, where he took over an old outpost and converted this estate into his monastery. In addition to renovating the buildings, Dharmamitra planted a thousand apple trees spread out over a hundred acres. Dharmamitra later moved to Liangzhou 涼州 (on the border of the

⁴⁸ Studies of the *Hongming ji* (T 2102) include Zhang, *Hongmingji lidian zhuan*; Liu, "Hongming ji yanjiu." There has regrettably been far less written about the *Shijia pu* (T 2040). See Kanno, *Shaka fu inyō kyōten ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu*, 115–45. As for the *Chu sanzang jiji* (T 2145) see Naitō, "Shutsu sanzō ki shū no senshū," 162–63 and "Shutsu sanzō ki shū no mokroku," 367–70; Link, "The Earliest Chinese Account (I)," 90; Kawaguchi, "Shutsu sanzō ki shū ni tsuite," 75–107; Sugiyama, "Shutsu sanzō ki shū shitsuyaku," 46–48; Storch, "Chinese Buddhist Historiography," 4–6 and "Chinese Buddhist Bibliography," 162–65; Nakajima, "Shutsu sanzō ki shū," 44–54.

⁴⁹ For more on Dharmamitra's biography, see Kodama, "Yugashi to zen kyōten no kenkyū," 131; Yamabe, "The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi," 48–49; Chen, "An Alternative View," 355. Baochang (see below) says that Dharmamitra was also known as Fayou 法友 (X 134.10a).

present-day Gansu and Ningxia provinces), where he converted and repaired an old governmental bureau.

[Dharmamitra] traveled over the Flowing Sands [i.e., the Gobi Desert] and entered Dunhuang. He then built a concentrative dwelling on an empty parcel of land. He planted a thousand apple trees, as well as a dormitory, a pavilion, a pond, and a grove of trees. It was truly a serene and peaceful [place].⁵⁰ After a number of years he moved to Liangzhou where he converted an old governmental bureau [into a temple] by [re]building its halls and eaves.⁵¹ His disciples quickly increased and he thrived in teaching the meditative arts.⁵²

遂度流沙，進到燉煌。於曠野之地建立精舍。植榛千株，房閣池林。極為嚴淨。頃之復適涼州，仍於公府舊寺更營堂宇。學徒濟濟，禪業甚盛。

In the later parts of Dharmamitra's hagiography, Sengyou details his move from the western frontier to the eastern seaboard, first to Mao 鄆 county, then to Zhongshan 鍾山, where he built a residence at the Dinglin Monastery 定林寺 in 433.⁵³ Sengyou stresses that the newly built stupa and monastery in Mao resulted in a spiritual reformation in the area as the spirit mediums (*wu* 巫), who once thrived in the area, disappeared after Dharmamitra established his compound.

[Dharmamitra] next moved to the mountains of Mao county and established a stupa and monastery there. To the east [of this site] were [people with] ancient customs; most were interested in shamanic incantations. The presence of [Dharmamitra] led to a miraculous reformation of these houses [of worship] into an upright practice. As he moved eastward, he accomplished all he hoped.⁵⁴

乃於鄆縣之山建立塔寺。東境舊俗，多趣巫祝。及妙化所移，比屋歸正。自西徂東，無思不服。

⁵⁰ The *GSZ* reads: "[He] tended a garden a hundred *mou* square, and [built] a living quarters, a pavilion, and a pond. It was a serene and peaceful [place]." 開園百畝。房閣池沼極為嚴淨。

⁵¹ *GSZ* reads *qi* 葺 ("repair") for *ying* 營 ("construct").

⁵² *T* 2145, 55.105a; *CSZJJ*, 14.546. The same passage is quoted in the hagiographic collections of Baochang and Huijiao. Cf. *X* 134.19a; *T* 2059, 50.342c; *GSZ*, 3.121.

⁵³ Mao county is in present-day Yin 鄞 county, Zhejiang province (*ZGGJ*, 1203a). As we saw above, the Dinglin Monastery at Zhongshan was one of the orders Sengyou managed.

⁵⁴ *T* 2145, 55.105a; *CSZJJ*, 14.546.

Despite Dharmamitra's success in eastern China, he once again moved; this time his move was undertaken in an effort to gain a better view of surrounding topography. After taking measurements and conducting geomantic divinations at an alternate location, Dharmamitra carved rocks and cut down trees in preparation for building a second compound. As was the case with his earlier creations, waves of people came to see the building after its construction.

[Dharmamitra] later moved to the lower Dinglin Monastery atop Zhongshan.⁵⁵ [He] had a proclivity for finding serenity and beauty in mountain scenery. As such he professed that the beauty of Zhongshan was unsurpassed and constantly lamented that the foundation of the lower monastery had not fully captured the contours [of the mountain]. He thereupon went to the top of the mountain to look down and take measurements and a divinatory reading of the topography [of the site]. He then began carving out rocks and cut down trees in an effort to build a new upper monastery. The sanctuary, living quarters, and trance chamber were solemn and seemed to go on forever. It vaguely resembled Vulture Peak and the Jetavana Grove.⁵⁶ As a result multitudes of pilgrims came here from afar to calm their minds.⁵⁷

後還都止鍾山定林下寺。禪師天性凝靜，雅愛山水。以為鍾山鎮岳，特美嵩華，常歎下寺基構，未窮形勝。於是乘高相地，揆卜山勢。斬石刊木，營建上寺。殿房禪室肅然深遠。實依稀鷲巖，彷彿祇樹矣。於是息心之眾萬里來集。

Dharmamitra's hagiography reflects assumptions that Sengyou and his readers would have had about monks who were famous for building temples, the possible roles they might play and goals they might have. For example, Dharmamitra was remembered for his surveying of the surrounding topography of a potential site prior to constructing a temple.

Dharmamitra also built his residence to resemble famous sites of ancient India in which the

⁵⁵ The *GSZ* specifies that this move took place in the tenth year of the *yuanjia* reign (February 6, 433–January 25, 434).

⁵⁶ Vulture Peak (Gr̥dhra-kūṭa-parvata) is a mountain site near Rājagṛha where the Buddha delivered many of his sermons. The Jetavana Grove is a monastic estate where the Buddha lived and preached during his later career (see chapter 2, pp. 73–74). It is unclear if Sengyou's claim that the compound vaguely resembled (*yixi* 依稀) these ancient Indian sites meant that it built on a similar design, or if the monastery replicated the ancient site. The same ambiguity exists in the sixth century description of the Jinglin Monastery 景林寺 in the northern capital of Luoyang, whose lecture halls, rooms, and corridors were said to have been designed like a labyrinth lined with gardens and fruit orchards, and as containing a trance room (*chanfang* 禪房) just like the Jetavana Grove. *T* 2092, 51.1004a; Wang, *A Record*, 58–59.

⁵⁷ *T* 2145, 55.105a–b; *CSZJJ*, 14.546. The passage is also recorded with minimal variation in the *Gaoseng zhuan* (*T* 2059, 50.343a; *GSZ*, 3.122; *XYGSZ*, 174). There is an abbreviated account of Tanmomiduo's residence at Dinglin monastery in *X* 134, 10a.

Buddha taught. And, finally, these built environments were some of the main attractions for visitors and pilgrims. Since Sengyou too gained a reputation as a builder of monumental projects, it is possible that stories like Dharmamitra's provided precedents for Sengyou in promoting himself as at once an exegete and builder of temples.

Unlike Tao Hongjing's representation of Maoshan, there are no commentarial layers attributed to Sengyou in these compilations. It is, therefore, impossible to know Sengyou's reaction to this story. It would certainly be an overstatement to conclude that Sengyou considered every cleric an architectural visionary. In the story of Saṃghadeva (Sengqietipo 僧伽提婆), for instance, Sengyou details how General Wang Xun 王琄 (349–400 CE) funded the construction of a concentrative dwelling on behalf of Saṃghadeva after the latter moved from Luoyang to Jiankang in 391. Saṃghadeva had little input on the design of the compound, but Sengyou notes that he was able to successfully attract many new disciples (*zhao xuezhong* 招學眾) after founding this new devotional center.⁵⁸ At the very least, the hagiographies from Sengyou's compilations, like Tao's, highlight the interactions between holy masters and lay sponsors, a relationship that culminated in the construction of a monastery.

(4.2.2) *Baochang*

Another Liang cleric whose expertise in editing texts and temple building overlapped with Tao Hongjing's career is Baochang 寶唱 (502–57 CE). Baochang was from poor peasant origins but rose in society by securing an entry-level position as a copyist.⁵⁹ When

⁵⁸ *T* 2145, 55.99c; *CSZJJ*, 13.525. This story is also featured in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan* (*T* 2059, 50.329a; *GSZ*, 1.38; *XYGSZ*, 60). For more on Saṃghadeva, see Liebenthal, "A Biography of Chu Tao-sheng," 286n12.

⁵⁹ In Daoxuan's hagiography, Baochang is reported to have been near thirty years-old (Chinese style) in 495 (*T* 2060, 50.426b). This would place Baochang's birth around 466. His job as a copyist not only provided

the eminent master Sengyou left the capital in 483 for Baochang's homeland in the Wu region, the latter took monastic vows and became a formal pupil at Sengyou's side. During his studies with Sengyou, Baochang made friends with many influential litterateurs of his day and was famous not only for his knowledge of Buddhist texts but also for his command over a wide range of non-Buddhist prose and poetry. By 505, just three years after Emperor Wu took the throne, Baochang was appointed the abbot of the Xin'an Monastery 新安寺. The emperor soon selected Baochang to oversee the compilation of a series of treatises about various Buddhas and bodhisattvas, as well as the rituals appropriate for invoking each deity.⁶⁰

Despite his successes in the early years of the Liang dynasty, Baochang encountered a series of setbacks around 510, when he became ill and was banished to southern China for taking leave of his post without permission.⁶¹ During his exile, Baochang edited the *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 [Traditions of famous monks], a collection of hagiographies that he circulated soon after his return to the capital.⁶² The positive response to the *Mingseng zhuan* resulted in an imperial commission to head other projects at the royal scriptorium. Baochang was entrusted with revising a catalogue called the *Hualin Fodian jingmu* 華林佛殿經目, previously edited by the otherwise unknown monk named Sengshao 僧紹 of the Anle 安樂 Monastery.⁶³ Thereafter Baochang was subsequently made head of the Hualinyuan baoyun

him money to live on, but also strengthened his ability to read and ostensibly write. *T* 2060, 50.426b. De Rauw ("Baochang," 204) concludes that since Daoxuan writes that Baochang strengthened (*qiang* 強) his literary abilities as a copyist, he must have already had a foundation in education. Thus the representation of Baochang as a poor peasant's son is likely exaggerated. For more on the trope of Buddhist monks as men of destitute origins, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 6–9.

⁶⁰ The command that Emperor Wu gave to Baochang for this early project is partially contained in his hagiography. *T* 2060, 50.426b–c; De Rauw, "Baochang," 206.

⁶¹ See De Rauw, "Baochang," 206–07 for a detailed account of these events. For more on the disdain of Baochang, see Wright, "Biography and Hagiography," 392–95, 400.

⁶² The *Mingseng zhuan* is preserved in a text culled by the Japanese monk Shūshō 宗性 in 1235. This text, called the *Meisōden shō* 名僧傳抄, was subsequently housed in Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara and recently included in the early twentieth century collection *Dai Nippon Zokuzōkyō* (*X* 134.1–34). Among these fragments is a table of contents, thirty-six entries, and a topical list of items of interest to Shūshō. I follow DeRauw's dating of this text as being compiled during Baochang's exile (511–14), first circulated in 515, and subsequently revised as the head bibliographer for the imperial library. See his "Baochang," 203, 207–08, 212–15.

⁶³ Daoxuan claims that Baochang added abstracts, combined works that had different titles but similar content, and separated works that had previously been conflated. *T* 2060, 50.426.

jingcang 華林園寶雲經藏 [Treasure cloud scriptorium of the floriate grove garden], the imperial library of Buddhist scriptures.⁶⁴

Our awareness of Baochang's architectural expertise is known through a hagiography written a century after Baochang's death. In his *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [The continued traditions of eminent monks], Daoxuan describes at least three monasteries built under the supervision of Baochang.⁶⁵ The first two, the Dazhidu 大智度 ("Great Perfection of Wisdom") Monastery and Da'aijing 大愛敬 ("Great Loving Respect") Monastery, were built in honor of Emperor Wu's deceased mother and father, respectively.⁶⁶ The Dazhidu Monastery was located on the western bank of a river that ran through the Jiangyang 建陽 gate, the eastern entrance into the capital city. This convent housed five hundred nuns and featured a seven-story stupa tower surrounded by lush gardens and verandas.

The Daaijing Monastery was a far-larger complex that Baochang built above a ravine in the northern portion of Zhongshan. Daoxuan describes the hundreds of rooms of this temple as forming a labyrinth rising upward into the heavens. When visitors arrived at the pinnacle of this compound, writes Daoxuan, they beheld an expansive landscape with hazy peaks in the distance and the echoes of the water moving down below. The massive size and

⁶⁴ This library, also called *Hualinyuan* 華林園 ("Garden of the Floriate Grove"), was located at the northern edge of the capital on a site that once was the imperial hunting grounds. It was built at the start of the Liang dynasty (502) in response to a fire that had destroyed the previous imperial library. All non-Buddhist texts were housed separately, either in the *Wende dian* 文德殿 ("Basilica of Literary Virtue") or in the *Shangshuge* 尚書閣 ("Gallery of the Imperial Secretariat"). Over a decade later in 527, this Buddhist library would become the home of the Tongtai Monastery 同泰寺. Suwa, *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō*, 47; De Rauw, "Baochang," 207–08; Tian, *Beacon Fire*, 86; Mugitani, "Dōkyō ruisho," 344–45. As the head bibliographer for the imperial library, the emperor commissioned Baochang to compile a wide range of texts such as the *Zhongjing fangong shengseng fa* 眾經飯供聖僧法 [Collated ritual manual for offering food to sagacious monks], and the *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 [Differentiated manifestations of scriptures and laws]. For more on the latter, see Yan, *Liang Wudi*, 142–44, 292–95; Tian, *Beacon Fire*, 98–99; DeRauw, "Baochang," 211; Xu, "Liang yangdu Zhuangyan si," 97; Yan, *Xin yi Jinglü yixiang*, 2.

⁶⁵ For more on Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, see pp. 170–77 below.

⁶⁶ Wu, *Written at Imperial Command*, 139–41; Suwa, *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō*, 162–63. Daoxuan concludes his descriptions of these two monasteries by quoting Emperor Wu, who said he funded the buildings to avoid the pains as conveyed in "Lu'e" 蓼莪 [Thick Tarragon] (Mao 202). In this ancient ode, the poet expresses his humiliation that his parents sacrificed so much in raising him, yet he could not repay their kindness now that they are dead.

environs gave visitors the feeling that they were walking through a palace housing celestial beings.

[Its buildings] were complexly conjoined and rose to the sun. [From its top], you could look down a hundred *zhang* sheer peaks [swathed in] hazy blue, as well as flowing fonts that bubble and gush forth. [The sounds] of the bell and whale could be heard throughout the mountains; golden phoenixes soared across the skies.⁶⁷ [He] constructed stupa that miraculously sat on the ledge of a precipitous gully . . . Its manner of construction and ornamentation rivaled the heavenly palaces.⁶⁸

糾紛協日。臨睨百丈，翠微峻極，流泉灌注。鍾鯨遍嶺；[金*天]鳳
乘空。創塔包巖壑之奇.....經營彫麗奄若天宮。

Baochang also designed the corridors and porticos of the Daaijing Monastery to zigzag through the courtyards of the compound. Each courtyard contained its own pond and gardens, and over one thousand monks lived scattered throughout. The central feature of Baochang's design for this temple was a sandalwood statue placed in the main sanctuary, twenty-two *zhang* in height, and an eight-*zhang* bronze statue that the emperor personally dedicated in an adjacent hall. The statue in the main sanctuary was supposed to be eight *zhang* high. One night during its construction, however, workers heard sounds coming from the statue while they were sleeping. Upon arising the next morning, the entire statue had been completed and was miraculously almost three times higher than expected. Onlookers viewed these feats, cumulatively, as a sign of divine intervention.⁶⁹

The main sanctuary in the central courtyard contained a sandalwood statue [that was meant to be] eight *zhang* high by the sculptor's estimate. They worked only during the days and rested at night. Every night there would be noises [coming from the site], and when morning broke it seemed as if more work had been done. In the end, the sculpture rose twenty-two *zhang*. The major and minor distinguishing features were majestically rendered. It

⁶⁷ Xue Zong 薛綜 (d. 243 CE) writes that that large bells were often struck with mallets shaped like *pulao* 蒲牢, an animal that would emit a loud cry when attacked by the whale. *WXXI*, 158n44.

⁶⁸ *T* 2060, 50.427a; Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 75.

⁶⁹ Daoxuan also writes about how Emperor Wu was overcome with emotion when he visited the monastery. Emperor Wu prostrated himself before the statues and sobbed with emotion every time he visited the monastery. This kind of reaction by the emperor resonates with the spiritual transformations of the Han emperors featured above.

almost seemed to be the work of gods, and [viewers] often perceived signs that this was, in fact, true.⁷⁰

中院正殿有栴檀像，舉高丈八，匠人約量。晨作夕停。每夜恒聞作聲，旦視輒覺功大。及終成後乃高二丈有二。相好端嚴色相超挺。殆由神造，屢感徵跡。

Later in Baochang's hagiography, Daoxuan writes about the Tongtai Monastery, which Baochang designed on behalf of the emperor. The central feature of this compound was a towering stupa rising into the heavens.

The Datong Gate was inaugurated north of Taicheng in the first year of the *datong* reign [527]. [There Baochang] built the Tongtai Monastery and modeled the loft-buildings, galleries, terraces, and sanctuaries on the royal palaces. There was a nine-story stupa that circled up through the clouds. The mountains, forests, gardens, and pools were lush and many. On the sixth day of the third lunar month the emperor paid a visit to the site to make confessions and call upon [Baochang].⁷¹ This then became the norm.⁷²

大通元年，於臺城北。開大通門。立同泰寺。樓閣臺殿擬則宸宮。九級浮圖迴張雲表。山樹園池沃蕩煩積。其年三月六日，帝親臨幸。禮懺敬接。以為常准。

Daoxuan's representation of Baochang's construction projects suggests that Baochang, like Tao and Sengyou, was a cleric who received lucrative sponsorships from the emperor to build imperial monasteries. We can further surmise that these monuments were not simply admired for their aesthetic appeal but were sites imagined to have profound influence on the spiritual well-being of sponsors and their recently deceased ancestors.

As in the case of Sengyou, we can garner some information about Baochang's interest in the architectural expertise of clerics by reading some of the surviving hagiographies he collated, especially in the *Mingseng zhuan*.⁷³ For example, Baochang writes about a monk

⁷⁰ T 2060, 50.427a; Soper, *Literary Evidence*, 75.

⁷¹ The date of the emperor's visit would correspond to May 22, 527.

⁷² T 2060, 50.427b; Li, "Classification," 651.

⁷³ In an effort to focus on Baochang's representation of the monasteries built in China, I have ignored narratives in which Baochang writes about the construction of monasteries in ancient India. In the third fascicle of *Jinglü yixiang* titled "Earth" (*dibu* 地部), for instance, Baochang features two stories about how wealthy individuals donated their lush estates to the Buddha for construction. The first is about the *karaṇḍa-venuvana*, a

named Seng Ji 僧濟 (or Seng Qieluoduoduo 僧伽羅多哆), who built a sanctuary at Zhongshan that, like the Da'aijing Monastery, rose high into the heavens. Its spire, describes Baochang, “pierced the clouds” (*lingyun* 陵雲) and hyperbolically “rested on the sun” (*jiari* 架日). Behind Seng Ji’s architectural marvel, steep mountains rose like verdant towers, an image reinforcing the verticality of the building. The impressive site was home to a burgeoning community of thirty disciples and was supported long after Seng Ji died in 450.

He cleared out the filbert and weeds and constructed a concentrative dwelling that rose so high it pierced the clouds, its tall tower seemed to rest on the sun. A mountain creek ran through [the monastery], and the steep cliffs beside it were covered in trees. It was one of the most imposing structures of its day; its was known as the “Serenity of the Song.” There was a community of over thirty men who studied meditation [with Seng Ji]. For over four generations, this monastery was supported and supplied with all they needed. [Seng] Ji never amassed a personal fortune; he only kept that which was needed for his monks. He was always at his preaching mat and one sermon always seemed to follow another. At the age of fifty-nine, in the twenty-seventh year of the *yuanjia* reign [January 29, 450–February 16, 451], [Seng Ji] died.⁷⁴

剪開榛蕪，造立精舍，聳剎陵雲，高堂架日。鑿澗延流，傍巖列樹。當時之威德；故號曰宋熙。禪學之眾。三十餘人。四輩供施，相繼不絕。濟不畜私財；有必入眾。禪席常溫，法言不輟。春秋五十有九，元嘉二十七年卒。

Baochang emphasizes Seng Ji’s active role in building upon this undeveloped site. Seng Ji cleared away the overgrown vegetation from the site and constructed the towering spire of the sanctuary. Baochang further asserts that this architectural marvel was instrumental in attracting Seng Ji’s followers; over thirty people came to live with Seng Ji after he had

garden tended by an elder called Karaṇḍa (*jialantuo* 迦蘭陀), and later presented by King Bimbisāra to Śākyamuni. The second, and much longer excerpt, Sudatta, who convinced Prince Jeta to bestow his park to Śākyamuni (see chapter 2). Also note that the Jetavana Grove was replicated on Chinese soil twice during Baochang’s lifetime, once in the late fifth century (see *T* 2145, 55.93a; *CSZJJ*, 12.490) and once during Baochang’s time as imperial abbot (*LS*, 3.64; *NS*, 7.201; Suwa, *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō*, 53–54). It is possible that Baochang’s inclusion of these narratives was related to these contemporary projects, but the relationship between Baochang’s texts and these construction projects awaits further study.

⁷⁴ *X* 1523, 77.355b. From Seng Ji’s story we can also conclude that monks might rise to prominence as builders quite quickly. Seng Ji was born in the western regions of China as an orphan and moved to Zhongshan in tenth year of the *yuanjia* reign (February 6, 433–January 25, 434). This means that he built his compound and attracted a mass following in less than fifteen years.

completed the building. By Baochang's estimation, Seng Ji's successes as a monastic teacher were an extension of his ability to design and build a temple.

Elsewhere in *Mingseng zhuan* Baochang features the story of Huiyong 惠永, a monk who left home at the age of twelve to become an ascetic. Baochang praised Huiyong as a young man with a strong resolve and, after studying for a few years with his first teacher Zhu Tanxian 竺曇現, went to the northern ridges of Lushan 廬山, where he constructed a monastery.

[Huiyong] built a monastic temple on the northern ridge [of Lushan], but there were too many distractions [there]. So, he moved atop the southern ridge where he constructed a thatched living quarters and a sanctuary hall where the mist and auroras comingled. He called it Lingyun ("Skimming the Clouds") Monastery. He lived far from human affairs as a recluse on this shrouded peak. He wore ragged clothes, ate a vegetarian diet, and focused on meditation and chanting [scriptures].⁷⁵

創立寺廟，永以北嶺下，尚多喧動。移於南嶺之上，築葺房宇，構起堂殿，煙霞交接。名曰凌雲精舍。於是棄絕人事，隱居幽岳。弊衣菜食，禪誦為務。

The representation of monastic architecture in the *Mingseng zhuan* indicates that Baochang, like Sengyou, understands fifth-century monks as the builders of monasteries that resembled heavenly places high in the mountains. Judged from Daoxuan's hagiography, in which Baochang is reported to have designed architecture to alter Emperor Wu's psychological state, it is likely that these ethereal compounds resonated with Baochang's own approach to construction. At any rate, the above stories lend credibility to Daoxuan's description of Baochang since the narratives of Baochang's writing reinforce the idea that clerical architects were the creators of ethereal compounds.

⁷⁵ X 1523, 77.356c–57a. Huijiao also recorded a hagiography of Huiyong in *GSZ*, and mentioned Huiyong's proclivity for building monasteries. See *T* 2059, 50.362a; *GSZ*, 6.232.

(4.2.3) Huijiao

The largest collection of Liang-dynasty hagiographies is Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*, which was composed around 530 CE. As opposed to what we know about Sengyou and Baochang, Huijiao's achievements remain fairly obscure. Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan* nevertheless illuminates key ways that Liang writers represented the architectural expertise of clerics. Since Huijiao writes hagiographies for monks spanning the second through early sixth centuries, we can also gain insight into how one writer imagined the construction of temple compounds evolving over the course of early medieval China. We have already examined one of Huijiao's narratives in the previous chapter: the story of Fotudeng, in which Huijiao writes that the early fourth-century monk undertook an excavation and construction project on behalf of his royal patron, Shihu. Elsewhere in *Gaoseng zhuan*, Huijiao depicts the construction of early monastic compounds as instigated by clerics functioning not as architects per se but as contractors of these sites. In the hagiography of exegete Daoan 道安 (314–85 CE), Huijiao asserts that Daoan was in charge of deciding how funds donated by local aristocrats should be used in the construction of a new compound.

[Dao]an, taking consideration of the fact that the [foundations of the] White Horse Monastery were too narrow, established a separate monastery which he named the Rosewood Creek.⁷⁶ It was the former residence of Zhang Yin of Qinghe.⁷⁷ The [surrounding] aristocrats all extended their support by constructing a five-story stupa and building a dormitory for four hundred monks. The governor of Liangzhou, Yang Hongzhong, sent ten thousand catties of copper requesting it be made into a dew receptacle. However, [Dao]an said, "I have already entrusted the reverend [Zhu Fa]tai with the manufacture of the dew receptacle. I would like to turn this copper over to be used in casting an image; can this be done?" [Hong]zhong was delighted and reverently consented. The congregation

⁷⁶ The White Horse Monastery (*Baima si* 白馬寺) is generally regarded as the first Buddhist monastery built in China, but more recent studies indicate that Huijiao understood the term as referring to a host of different monasteries by the same name. See Palumbo, "Dharmaraksa," 171. For more on the distinction between rosewood (*zhentan* 真檀) and sandalwood (*zhantan* 旃檀), see Schafer, "Rosewood," 129–30.

⁷⁷ Zhang Yin 張殷 is best remembered for quelling rebellions in the early fourth century as the prefect of Liangzhou 梁州 (present-day Hanzhong 漢中 in Shaanxi). See *Jinshu*, 57.1564. Qinghe is in southern Hebei and refers to Zhang's family place of origin.

then collectively donated funds to aid in completing an image of the Buddha . . . every night it radiated with light and brightened the entire hall . . . All the town's [people] together went to gaze upon and reverence it.⁷⁸

安以白馬寺狹，乃更立寺，名曰檀溪。即清河張殷宅也。大富長者，並加贊助，建塔五層，起房四百。涼州刺史楊弘忠送銅萬斤，擬為承露盤。安曰：「露盤已訖汰公營造，欲迴此銅鑄像，事可然乎。」忠欣而敬諾。於是眾共抽捨，助成佛像.....每夕放光，徹照堂殿像後.....舉邑皆往瞻禮。

Huijiao's description of Daoan's construction of a new temple highlights the kind of logic by which monks justified their religious enterprises to potential clients. Daoan claimed that his previous compound, the White Horse Monastery, was too "narrow" (*xia* 狹), a term likely referring to the fact that the grounds of the monastery were not suitable for expansion or renovation. Daoan's story also suggests that clerics and sponsors focused on construction materials in their negotiation.

According to Huijiao, the development of monasteries in fourth-century China was facilitated by monks like Daoan, who were skilled in raising funds for the construction of temple compounds. In the hagiography of Zhu Fatai 竺法汰, for example, Huijiao writes about two monks soliciting funds in an effort to convert an old pottery factory into a monastery. Zhu Fatai's role in this reclamation of ancient site is particularly interesting because Huijiao stresses that Fatai took a special interest in the design of monastic architecture, as well as the building's position in its surrounding landscape—Fatai built double-leaf doors "conforming to the topography" (*ke dishi* 可地勢) of the site.

During the *xingning* reign [363–66 CE] Huili began soliciting funds to construct a monastery, and ended up [raising enough money for] a hall and a stupa.⁷⁹ When [Fa]tai came to reside at [Huili's monastery] he greatly

⁷⁸ *T* 2059, 50.352b; *GSZ*, 5.179; *XYGSZ*, 251; translation adapted from Link, "Biography of Shih Tao-an," 19–20.

⁷⁹ Huili's hagiography in *Gaoseng zhuan* contains a description of the miraculous circumstances surrounding the construction of this monastery. The central pillar for the stupa kept moving ten paces eastward in the evening and would move back to its original place by morning. Days later they saw a person clad in vermilion clothes who pointed at the eastern spot. After this apparition, Huili built the stupa on this site. See *T* 2059, 50.410a; *GSZ*, 13.480.

expanded the living quarters and undertook many kinds of renovation projects.⁸⁰ He even built a double-leaf door that took advantage of the lay of the land. The residence of the prince of Runan Sima Zong (fl. 371 CE) was near the monastery. [The Prince] had excavation work done by the side of the monastery, which caused the double-leaf doors to topple.⁸¹ This resulted in the destruction of the double-leaf door, which did not seem to bother [Fa]tai. When [Sima] Zong realized what he had done he went to apologize [to Fatai], but [Fa]tai received him while lying in bed and acted as if no one was there.⁸²

晉興寧中，沙門慧力啟乞為寺，止有堂塔而已。及汰居之，更拓房宇，修立眾業。又起重門，以可地勢。汝南世子司馬綜第去寺近，遂侵掘寺側。重門淪陷，汰不介懷。綜乃感悟，躬往悔謝，汰臥與相見，傍若無人。

Whereas Huijiao largely understands the monks of the early and mid-fourth century as fundraisers, by the turn of the fifth century, he represents monks as individuals capable of constructing architectural marvels. In the hagiography of Zhutanyou 竺曇猷 (fl. late fourth century CE), Huijiao describes how this monk excelled at designing an idyllic compound making onlookers feel as though they had stepped into heavenly places. Zhutanyou built his monastery at Mount Chicheng 赤城山, a peak on the northern chain of the Tiantai range in present-day Zhejiang.⁸³ Huijiao draws readers' attention to the verticality of Zhutanyou's sanctuary by describing its architecture as "piercing the heavens" (*qie tian* 切天). Visitors to the site walked toward the heavens by way of a staircase that Zhutanyou carved out of the rocks. Huijiao also stresses the positive reception of this monastery by mentioning Zhutanyou's influential visitors such as Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (309–ca. 365 CE). Wang heard

⁸⁰ I read the character *tuo* 拓 as a verb to "expand" the monastic compound initially built by Huili. Huijiao uses the same character to describe how the followers of the monk Fazong 法宗 converted (*kaituo* 開拓) an old residence into a concentrative dwelling. See *T* 2059, 50.407a; *GSZ*, 12.462. Thus *tuo* conveyed the notion that Fatai moved to the Waguan Monastery after Huili's abbotship ended and was responsible for the monastery's expansion.

⁸¹ Sima Zong 司馬綜 was the eldest son of Sima Xi 司馬晞 (316–81 CE) and was exiled to Xin'an 新安 (in present-day western Zhejiang) after a failed plot against the throne in 371 CE. See *Jinshu*, 64.1727

⁸² *T* 2059, 50.355a; *GSZ* 5.193; *XYGSZ*, 271. Part of this passage is translated in Li, "Classification," 644.

⁸³ The passage concerning Zhutanyou's monastery follows a passage where Huijiao describes how the monk first secured the support of a local, non-Buddhist spirit. The latter appeared before Zhutanyou and encouraged the monk to permanently reside on the mountain.

of the fame of this site well in advance of visiting and was in complete awe (*zhijing* 致敬) of the beauty not only of Zhutanyou's creation but also of the views that the compound afforded.

There was a peak emerging from the mountains that rose up through a thousand [layers] of clouds. [Zhutanyou] carved a staircase out of the rocks that spiraled to the top of this peak; [at the top] he built his residence. He constructed a piping system out of bamboo to meet his daily needs. There were over ten students who lived here with him. After hearing of this place, Wang Xizhi often came here to gaze up to the mountain peaks in amazement and awe before heading back home.⁸⁴ The cliffs of Chicheng, the Tiantai waterfalls, and the numinous creek [feeding into] Siming mountains are all connected [to this temple]. From here the hanging cliffs of the Tiantai range rise like towering peaks piercing the heavens.⁸⁵

山有孤巖獨立，秀出千雲。猷搏石作梯；升巖宴坐。接竹傳水，以供常用。禪學造者十有餘人。王羲之聞而故往，仰峰高挹致敬而反。赤城巖與天台瀑布，靈溪四明，並相連屬。而天台懸崖峻峙，峰嶺切天。

Zhutanyou's rise from relative obscurity to a prominent temple architect illustrates how Huijiao conceives of a monk's ability to build a marvelous monastic compound as one of the paths toward religious and professional success. One of the most significant parts of Huijiao's representation of Zhutanyou is his connection to Wang Xizhi. While nothing in this passage suggests that Wang was a principal financial donor of this compound, Huijiao's inclusion of Wang's endorsement increases Zhutanyou's clout as an influential and visible master.

Huijiao depicts the increasing size and complexity of ritual architecture at the turn of the fifth century as the product of the symbiosis between clerics and their influential donors. In a temple renovation project led by monk Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416 CE), for example, Huijiao underscores the role that the rich sponsor Huan Yi 桓伊 played in bringing the

⁸⁴ Wang Xizhi was a famous aristocrat and calligrapher in the fourth century. He also was affiliated with the Celestial Master sect of Daoism and had strong ties to the Buddhist monk Zhi Dun 支遁 (314–66 CE). See Yoshikawa's *Ō Gishi*; Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 618.

⁸⁵ *T* 2059, 50.396a; *GSZ*, 11.403; *XYGSZ*, 703.

project to fruition.⁸⁶ The relationship between Huiyuan and Huan Yi began after one of Huiyuan's disciples, Huiyong 慧永, first moved to Lushan and secured financial backing for a new monastery. Huijiao recounts the conversation between Huiyong and Huan Yi and follows this with a lengthy description of the architectural features that Huiyuan designed for the newly rebuilt compound.

“[He] already has so many followers, and new people continue to move to [his compound]. But the facilities I can offer [to followers here] are very cramped and inadequate. What can we do [about this]?” Huan funded the reconstruction of a living quarters and a sanctuary on the east side of [Lu]shan. This is [what would later be called] the Eastern Grove [Monastery]. [Hui]yuan constructed a concentrative dwelling [next to] a cavern that took advantage of the beauty of the mountains. It backed against Fragrant Censer Peak and was constructed next to a waterfall pouring into a gully. The rocks [of this site] were laid out for its foundation and the pines were cut down to serve as its frame. Clear rivulets flowed on either side of the steps [leading to the monastery], and white clouds filled its rooms. Inside the monastery he further made a special grove for meditation. [In this grove], fog hung on the trees and stony paths were covered with moss. Every spot seen by the eye or trodden by foot was full of spiritual purity and majestic atmosphere.⁸⁷

「今徒屬已廣，而來者方多。貧道所棲褊狹，不足相處。如何？」桓乃為遠復於山東更立房殿，即東林是也。遠創造精舍，洞盡山美。卻負香爐之峰，傍帶瀑布之壑。仍石壘基，即松栽構。清泉環階，白雲滿室。復於寺內別置禪林，森樹煙凝，石筵苔合。凡在瞻履，皆神清而氣肅焉。

Huijiao describes Huiyuan's temple as a kind of vehicle enhancing the religious experience of visitors. Huiyuan built his compound before a tall mountain peak, and Huijiao reinforces the verticality of this structure by depicting visitors ascending paths flanked by running water, as well as clouds permeating the rooms of the temple. The appearance of the compound, writes Huijiao, gave followers an ideal place to meditate and the feeling that they were in a place of “spiritual purity” (*shenqing* 神清). Huijiao's representation of the Lushan compound also

⁸⁶ Huan Yi 桓伊 (d. ca. 392) was a successful general who gained renown as an enlightened governor late in his career. Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 569.

⁸⁷ *T* 2059, 50.358b; *GSZ*, 6.212; *XYGSZ*, 299. This passage was partially translated by Leon Hurvitz in Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism*, 811.

offers insight into the dynamic between sponsor and cleric, as Huiyuan was not only commissioned by Huan Yi to build this site: it was Huan who determined the size and location of the site prior to construction.

Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan* provides significant insight into the proactive roles that clerics assumed when proposed future building projects to potential sponsors. In the hagiography of Huishou 慧受, for example, Huijiao describes how Huishou approached a potential sponsor, Wang Tanzhi 王坦之 (330–75 CE), after dreaming about building a temple in Wang's gardens.⁸⁸

During the *xingning* reign of the Jin [363–66 CE] [Huishou] roamed about the capital. He maintained a vegetarian diet, practiced austerities, and constantly cultivated meritorious actions. One evening after he had walked past the garden of Wang Tanzhi, he dreamt that he built a monastery in [Wang's] garden; he had a series of similar dreams in the following [weeks]. [Hui]shou wanted to go to Wang and request to construct a building [in the garden], but did not dare say this. He then called upon the attendant of the garden, Song Qi, who told [Huishou], "I fear that the garden of the Wang family is not something you should count on [obtaining]." [Hui]shou responded, "If I move them by my sincerity, why fear that I will not obtain it?" [Huishou] thus called upon Wang and laid out his plan. Wang was greatly pleased and gave [Huishou] his blessing.⁸⁹

晉興寧中，來遊京師。蔬食苦行，常修福業。嘗行過王坦之園，夜輒夢於園中立寺，如此數過。受欲就王乞立一間屋處，未敢發言，且向守園客松期說之。期云：「王家之園恐非所圖也。」受曰：「若令誠感，何憂不得？」即詣王陳之。王大喜，即以許焉。

Huishou's founding of this temple compound demonstrates that Huijiao envisions the construction of early monasteries as projects that were often accompanied by a series of miraculous events. Huishou first received a vision of the appearance of the monastery in his dreams and, once building of the complex began, more anomalous events followed. During

⁸⁸ Wang Tanzhi was an Eastern Jin official remembered both for his anti-clerical stances at court and for his private patronage of Buddhist orders. *Jinshu*, 75.1965–69; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 119; Mather, *A New Account of Tales*, 626. Even after his death Wang's garden continued to host the construction of new monastic compounds. See the hagiography of the nun Yeshou 業首 (373–462 CE), who built a convent on these grounds in the second year of the *yuanjia* reign period [February 4, 425–January 23, 426]. *T* 2063, 50.940b. I have consulted the translation in Tsai, *Lives of the Nuns*, 58. Tom De Rauw argues that this collection of tales was likely compiled by a later hagiographer ("Baochang: Sixth-Century Biographer," 215–18).

⁸⁹ *T* 2059, 50.410b; *GSZ*, 13.481–82; *XYGSZ*, 838.

construction, Huishou dreamed that a dragon alighted at the site of his future residence and transformed into the central pillar of the sanctuary. Eventually, Huishou went out to search for the dragon and, upon finding a large log in a nearby river, interpreted the timber to have been the dragon that frequented his dreams. Acting as a kind of contractor, Huishou employed a group of laborers (*guren* 雇人) to help him lift the massive pillar from the river. Huijiao validates the dreams by asserting that Huishou's construction of this compound was positively received by countless monks and lay visitors.

At first [Huishou] built a small structure. Every night thereafter he kept dreaming of an azure dragon that arrived from the south and transformed into a central pillar [for a new building]. After he passed his novice monk test, [Huishou] went to the Xinting River in search [of the dragon].⁹⁰ He found a long [piece of] lumber floating in the river. [Hui]shou told himself, "This must be [the pillar] I saw [in my dreams]." He thereupon asked laborers to help him lift the log and erect it as a central pillar. He built a one-story [structure]. Both monks and lay followers gathered in great numbers and were amazed by this spectacle. [Wang] Tanzhi next donated the entire grounds of his garden to serve as a monastery and named it the Anle Monastery in honor of [Huishou's] hometown. The villas surrounding [Wang's garden]—the viceroy of Danyang Wang Ya to the east, the governor of Dongyan Liu Dou to the west, and the governor or Yuzhang Fan Ning to the south—all were donated to become monasteries. In later decades monks like Daojing and Daojing renovated these structures and made them the ornate structures they are today.⁹¹

初立一小屋，每夕復夢見一青龍從南方來，化為剎柱。受將沙彌試至新亭江尋覓；乃見一長木隨流來下。受曰：「必是吾所見者也。」於是雇人牽上，豎立為剎，架以一層。道俗競集，咸歎神異。坦之即捨園為寺，以受本鄉為名，號曰安樂寺。東有丹陽尹王雅宅，西有東燕太守劉鬪宅，南有豫章太守范寧宅，並施以成寺。後有沙門道靖，道敬等，更加修飾，于今崇麗焉。

By the mid- to late fifth century, Huijiao writes, the team of workers that clerics hired in the construction of monastic compounds grew to unprecedented levels. The workmanship of fifth-century temples, claims Huijiao, was less than desirable, a feature that we will see again in the stories about the Liang architects below. In the story of Huiji 慧基 (412–96 CE),

⁹⁰ Xinting River 新亭江 is southwest of present-day Nanjing. *DKW* 5.639c.

⁹¹ *T* 2059, 50.410b; *GSZ*, 13.482; *XYGSZ*, 838.

for example, Huijiao tells about how a monk from Qiantang 錢塘 (in present-day Zhejiang) encountered difficulties when working with the people he hired to build a monastery.⁹² Initially, Huiji worked alone to select a site high in the mountains and lay the foundation. Later in the project, Huiji hired a team of workers to help him construct the buildings, but the shoddy work of these laborers resulted in the total collapse of the structure during a thunderstorm. Thereafter, Huiji relied on communication with deities in his dreams to attempt to rebuild the compound.

[He] built the Baolin concentrative dwelling at Guishan in the Kuai village. He laid the bricks and stones by hand and personally ordered [the laborers]. The frame [of the monastery] sat perched atop a steep cliff and was built in the shape of a mountain. Originally [Huiji] built a three-story structure, but the carpenters were not very smart. Thus a thunderclap later collapsed the whole structure and had to be rebuilt from scratch. Nevertheless, [Huiji] made every effort to enhance the appearance of this [second building]. [Huiji] often saw Puxian in his dreams, and it was because [of this deity] that he had first become a monk.⁹³ Therefore, after the monastery was completed he constructed a statue of Puxian, as well as six statues made out of elephant tusks. He then held a twenty-one day fast for penitent [rituals]. Both the elite and commoners came in droves to pay homage [to Huiji].⁹⁴

乃於會邑龜山立寶林精舍。手疊磚石，躬自指麾。架懸乘險，製極山狀。初立三層，匠人小拙，後天震毀壞，更加修飾，遂窮其麗美。基嘗夢見普賢，因請為和上。及寺成之後，造普賢并六牙白象之形。即於寶林設三七齋懺。士庶鱗集，獻奉相仍。

Since we know nothing of what, if any, connections Huijiao had to building projects in the Liang, we can only speculate what roles the narratives of the *Gaoseng zhuan* played for Huijiao's successes. Furthermore, most of the stories about temple construction in Huijiao's hagiographies predate the Liang, so they are of little value in determining the projects in which Tao Hongjing's contemporaries engaged. Nevertheless, these stories illustrate the

⁹² It is likely that Huiji first built this monastery sometime between 473–77 CE since Huijiao records that Huiji began work on his monastery after he twice declined the Liu-Song Emperor Taizong's (Liu Yu 劉彧, r. 465–73) imperial summons to move to the capital.

⁹³ Puxian 普賢 is Samantabhadra bodhisattva or Viśvabhadra. He represents the practice required of all Buddhas and is often depicted at the right hand of Śākyamuni in Buddhist temple iconography.

⁹⁴ *T* 2059, 50.379a; *GSZ*, 8.324; *XYGSZ*, 538.

expectations and assumptions that Huijiao held with regard to the architectural expertise of clerics.

Many of Huijiao's conceptions about monastic architecture are analogous to the writings of Sengyou and Baochang. All of these Liang writers stress the vertical orientation of monasteries as a feature making visitors feel as though they had stepped into an otherworldly place. They further see the symbiosis between these clerics and sponsors as a constituent part of the building process. In these stories, monks told stories about the miraculous dreams and visions in an attempt to validate their plans. These writers also suggest that Chinese monks in the third through fifth centuries took on increasingly complex roles not only as designers of these compounds but also as consultants and contractors. While there is no extant Liang monastery that can confirm these accounts, in reading these stories we at least gain a sense of how Liang clerics used building design and landscape architecture to incorporate scriptural ideas in physical form.

(4.3) A Refractive Look at the Liang Architects

In absence of prospectuses written by Liang writers about their own building projects, the previous section analyzed narratives collected by Tao's contemporaries concerning the construction of Buddhist compounds in the fourth and fifth centuries. While these stories do not provide much information about the events transpiring during Tao's day, they are useful indicators of what Tao's contemporaries thought about the roles clerics played in the construction of temples. This final part of the chapter adopts a similar approach to studying the written representation of monastic architecture, but I will turn to narratives about Liang temple construction recorded in the mid-seventh century by Daoxuan in his *Xu Gaoseng*

zhuan 續高僧傳 [Continued traditions of eminent monks]. These later narratives suggest that many of the themes recorded in the Liang dynasty Daoist and Buddhist texts are echoed in later centuries. These seventh-century texts, for instance, suggest that the expansion and renovation of ritual architecture was an activity that could directly impact the salvation of occupants. Clerics' skills in designing and building these projects also related to their perceived sanctity and popularity among influential sponsors. While these accounts are by no means straightforward descriptions of what occurred during Tao's day, they nevertheless reinforce our previous interpretations about the visible roles Liang dynasty clerics played in building temple compounds.

Daoxuan stresses the miraculous circumstances in which clerics were inspired to undertake the construction of temples. In the story of Daozhen 道珍, for instance, Daoxuan writes about a monk who lived in seclusion in Lushan and built a bathhouse (likely drawing from nearby hot springs) after a divinity associated with Amida Buddha appeared before him. Daozhen constructed the bathhouse according to this divinity's instructions and used it as a place in which to chant scriptures. Eventually, Daozhen saw an apparition of a silver tower in the middle of the pool, and he continued to see the wondrous sight for many years. The nearby residents were unaware of Daozhen's building of the bathhouse until after his death.

No one knows Shi Daozhen's birthplace. In the beginning of the Liang dynasty he lived at Lushan where he was a constant devotee of the Amita Buddha. One time he dreamt that a person was riding atop a boat on a great ocean. [He addressed Daozhen] saying that he was en route to Amita's [Pure] Land. [Dao]zhen expressed interest in going with him, but the seafarer told him that he had not completed his mission [for admittance] into the Pure Land. He told Daozhen to construct a bathhouse and chant the Amita scriptures [inside]. When [Daozhen] awoke he did just as he was instructed in his dream. Many years later a silver tower appeared in the middle of the small pool [of his bathhouse]. No one else knew of these events; [Daozhen] wrote about his experiences and placed them at the bottom of the box where he stored his scriptures. When he died the top half of the mountain [where he lived] blazed with a thousand lights placed in a row. When the neighbors saw this they thought it was part of a royal consecration ceremony. At daybreak they went searching

the mountain. They all said that [Dao]zhen's passing was an auspicious sign of divine intervention.⁹⁵

釋道珍，未詳何人。梁初住廬山中，恒作彌陀業觀。夢有人乘船處大海中，云向阿彌陀國，珍欲隨去。船人云，未作淨土業，調須經營浴室并誦阿彌陀經。既覺即如夢所作。年歲綿遠，及於房中小池降白銀臺。時人不知，獨記其事安經函底。及命過時，當夕半山已上如列數千炬火。近村人見謂，是諸王觀禮。旦就山尋，乃云珍卒，方委冥祥外應也。

Daoxuan writes that the Liang clerics were individuals who possessed an unprecedented knowledge about building techniques as a result of divinely inspired visions.⁹⁶ In a description about an anonymous monk living at Lushan during Daozhen's day, Daoxuan writes that this monk started his religious career elsewhere but was inspired to move to Lushan after a spirit (*shen* 神) appeared in a dream and showed him various places around Lushan. After arriving at Lushan, the monk found one of the sites at Lushan that looked like the place he had seen in his dream. He built a residence at this site and remained there until he died.

At the time [of Daozhen] there was a monastery on the peak [of Lushan] with a meditation master who had first taken refuge in the Dharma in Hanyin of Xiangyang. When he first became a monk he had only engaged in private meditation. But he dreamt that a spirit came to him and escorted him to various places at Lushan. After suddenly waking up the monk went in search of [the sites of] his dream. He had never been to Lushan in his life, but when he went there, the monastery stupa, the trees and rocks all were exactly like the ones in his dream. [Upon seeing this] he knew that this was the place that the spirit had taken him to [in his dream]. After this he began his new mission of "tying eaves" [i.e., building monasteries] and lived in this mountain hut until he died.⁹⁷

時此山峰頂寺有法歸禪師者，本住襄陽漢陰，出家味靜為務。感夢有神來請，遂往廬山遊歷諸處，忽然驚覺，乃尋夢而往。但廬山者生來不到，及至彼處樹石寺塔宛如前夢，方知為廬山神之所請也。依而結宇晨夕繼業，遂終山舍。

⁹⁵ T 2060, 50.550c–51a.

⁹⁶ By the Tang, the frequency of divinely inspirations concerning temple construction increased. See Birnbaum, "The Manifestation," 123, 128; Stevenson, "Visions of Mañjuśrī," 208–9.

⁹⁷ T 2060, 50.5551a.

Daoxuan also depicts Liang clerics as excellent builders as well as connoisseurs of older compounds constructed in the fourth and fifth centuries. In the hagiography of the Fuchun 富春 (present-day Fuyang 富陽, Zhejiang) monk Sengmin 僧旻 (467–527 CE), Daoxuan writes that Sengmin appraised the workmanship of the Huqiushan 虎丘山 Monastery in Suzhou and worked diligently to rebuild the parts of these buildings in disrepair.

[Sengmin] thought that the doors, walls, and eaves of the Zhuangyan Monastery were based on an old design and not constructed very well. He also [talked about] the monastery west of Huqiushan in Wu which had fallen into disrepair a long time ago.⁹⁸ In both places he worked hard to fix and improve their appearances until they were most beautiful.⁹⁹

以莊嚴寺門及諸牆宇古製不工。又吳虎丘山西寺朽壞日久。並加繕改事盡弘麗。

Daoxuan also understands that the renovation of temples in the Liang often coincided with imperially funded events to be hosted at these compounds. The 519 renovation of the Zhuangyan Monastery, for example, occurred after a hall from which Sengmin was scheduled to deliver a lecture on behalf of the emperor was determined to be too small and unsafe. When the monks informed the stewards (*zhishi* 執事) in charge of the event, they postponed Sengmin's lecture, expanded the lecture hall, and added new platforms on which the audience would sit.

At the end of the *tianjian* reign [519] an edict came down from the Zhuangyan Monastery stating there would be eight Dharma-wheel [lectures]. Five monks were selected as lectures and their order [of their talks] was determined by their age. [Seng]min was to give the very last [lecture]. [At that time] his followers were many. The lecture hall of the Zhuangyan [Monastery], a building constructed during the reign of Shizu of the Song (Liu Jun 劉駿, r. 454–65), had many brackets that were too long and misplaced [thus not flush with the beams above]. When [Sengmin's] day came the [lecture hall] was not big enough for the audience. When the stewards heard of this they sent an edict to suspend the talk for five days. [During this time] they moved all the windows [outward] past the eaves. [The officials] also arranged for fifty [seating] platforms to be placed close together [before the pulpit]. Every edge of

⁹⁸ Huqiushan 虎丘山 is about seven kilometers west of present-day Suzhou 蘇州. *DKW*, 9.1048a.

⁹⁹ *T* 2060, 50.463b.

[these seats] was filled for ten days and many were saved [by this newly expanded hall].¹⁰⁰

天監末年，下勅於莊嚴寺，建八座法輪。講者五僧以年臘相次。旻最處後。眾徒彌盛。莊嚴講堂。宋世祖所立。欒欂增映延袤遐遠。至於是日不容聽眾。執事啟聞。有勅聽停講五日。悉移窓戶四出檐霑。又進給床五十張。猶為迫迮。桺桺摧折日有十數，得人之盛皆此類焉。

In the story of the expansion of the Zhuangyan Monastery, Daoxuan conceives that the reclamation and expansion of monasteries as acts generating karmic merit. It was, of course, Sengmin's lectures that illuminated the minds of those in attendance, but the number of people who were "enlightened" or "saved" (*de* 得) depended on the size of the venue. Such accounts are no doubt exaggerated, but Sengmin's story nevertheless highlights the kind of rhetoric writers used to persuade imperially appointed stewards to remit funds for renovation and expansion of the monastery.

Sengmin's perceived expertise in building monasteries, as well as the positive influence these buildings, was a reoccurring theme in Daoxuan's writings. While preparing to give a lecture at the Jianjing Monastery 簡靜寺, Sengmin determined that the lecture hall was too small, and he decided to build an annex the same size as the original hall and join the two structures into one building to accommodate the entire community. Here, too, the expanded monastery improved the spiritual life of those in attendance; Daoxuan claims that the audience of these lecture were transformed (*ganhua* 感化) by Sengmin's words.

At the Jianjing Monastery [Sengmin] gave a lecture on the *Shidi jing* [Daśabhūmika-sūtra]. At that time the eaves of the [lecture] hall ran only for five bays, but [Sengmin] feared that this would be too cramped. He came up with an idea to build a five bay [building] in front of the hall. He combined these two [structures] into one [building]. Whenever there was a lecture the entire community filled [the new hall]. The transformations of those who came [to the new lecture hall] were truly beyond belief.¹⁰¹

簡靜寺講十地經。堂宇先有五間，慮有迫迮。又於堂前權起五間。合而為一。及至就講寺內悉滿。斯感化之來殆非意矣。

¹⁰⁰ T 2060, 50.462c–63a. Part of this passage is translated in Li, "Classification," 650.

¹⁰¹ T 2060, 50.463a. I have relied on the translation in Li, "Classification," 650.

Daoxuan also records that Liang monks furthered their educational mission by persuading rich aristocrats to donate parks and other properties for use as monastic compounds. The monk Huichao 慧超 (d. 526 CE) from Yangping 陽平 (in present-day Shandong), a popular homilist and temple architect, was a contemporary of Tao Hongjing whom Daoxuan recorded as developer of idyllic landscapes.¹⁰² Huichao delivered sermons on behalf of the emperor and was rewarded additional lands next to his residence in the southern part of the capital city, where he built a new compound. Daoxuan writes that Huichao's Zhuangyan Monastery was a tall structure with a spire soaring into the clouds. Huichao also designed an irrigation system enabling him to construct a small pond on the property. Daoxuan stresses that the temple attracted commoners and aristocrats, and all these visitors were captivated by the otherworldly appearance of the compound.

The emperor also requested that [Hui]chao give sermon[s] on the *Jingming* [Vimalakīrti] Sūtra at the Huilun (“Benevolent Wheel”) Sanctuary. The emperor attended these [sermons] in person. At that time the Zhuangyan Monastery had not been built, but its garden was connected to the southern brook. He therefore constructed a pair of buildings overlapping like fish scales. There was a soaring gallery vaulting into the heavens; its [spire] was enshrouded by clouds and fog. He irrigated a cyan pool where he raised fish and grew lotuses. He also constructed an azure hill to serve as a bird sanctuary. He planted many rows of bamboo and fruit [trees] on all sides [of the complex]. There were wooden animals and stone beasts placed at all of the entries and exits. Everyone—from the numerous servants to the esteemed nobles—looked at this place and was overwhelmed by [Huichao's] high aspirations.¹⁰³

帝又請於惠輪殿講淨名經，上臨聽覽。未啟莊嚴寺，園接連南澗。因構起重房，若鱗相及。飛閣穹隆，高籠雲霧。通碧池以養魚蓮。構青山，以栖羽族。列植竹果四面成陰，木禽石獸交橫入出。又羅列童侍雅勝王侯，剖決眾情，一時高望。

Finally, Daoxuan writes that Liang clerics served as contractors who used donations to fund the construction of monasteries. In the hagiography of Mingda 明達, a Sogdian monk

¹⁰² This monk is to be distinguished from another monk with the same name, who lived 475–526 CE. The latter was probably more famous as he was responsible for the imperially sponsored translation of King Aśoka's hagiography. For more on this other Huichao, see *T* 2149, 55.265c–66a; *T* 2060, 50.472b.

¹⁰³ *T* 2060, 50.468b.

and key builder of temples in present-day Sichuan, Daoxuan recorded how the foreign monk planned to build a monastic complex in Zizhou 梓州 (present-day Santai 三台 county) without first acquiring the necessary funds to buy the construction materials.¹⁰⁴

He traveled to Oxhead Mountain in Zizhou where he wanted to build a stupa alongside a concentrative dwelling. He had yet to inquire about the wooden and stone [construction materials], and went straight to see the carpenters and laborers. Every person marveled at [Mingda's] words.¹⁰⁵

行至梓州牛頭山，欲構浮圖及以精舍。不訪材石直覓匠工。道俗莫不怪其言也。

While Mingda failed to procure the help he desired from these workers, this narrative demonstrates that it was a monk's responsibility to select and purchase building materials as well as to contract out the work of erecting monastic compounds. Despite Mingda's attempt to build his monastery without any form of collateral, Daoxuan praises this monk for having faith that his vision would be realized. Mingda's fortunes were helped by two natural disasters.

By the time the second lunar month rolled around there was a drought in the area. [Mingda] went out in search of water when he found long logs lying in the river. Both the length and width were perfect to use this as the central poles. [Mingda] gathered all [the lumber] and with great pride placed the pole [at the proposed site]. In the middle of the fourth month the waters of the Fu swelled so that driftwood floated well beyond the riverbanks. All the creeks flowing from the riverside towns all disappeared. [Ming]da led a team of servants to go around and pick up [the driftwood] that had floated up and covered the mountainside. [With this lumber] he built a sanctuary and constructed a nine-story stupa.¹⁰⁶

于時二月水竭。即下求水，乃於水中得一長材。正堪剎柱，長短合度。僉用欣然，仍引而豎焉。至四月中，涪水大溢木流翳江。自泊村岸，都無溜者。達率合皂素通皆接取，縱橫山積。創修堂宇，架塔九層。

Daoxuan further claims that the successful completion of the temple compound was due to Mingda's diligence and constant oversight. First, he was able to attract a mass group of

¹⁰⁴ For more on Mingda's relation to the wider Sichuan Buddhism of the early medieval period, see Xiang, "Liang chu," 46.

¹⁰⁵ T 2060, 50.691c.

¹⁰⁶ T 2060, 50.691c.

people to work on his project and helped provide anything that was necessary for these workers. Mingda was self-reliant and was attentive to those parts of the compound that were out of order.

People came from near and far to contribute to the lavish construction [project]. Whenever the workers encountered something they did not have it would instantly be made available. He personally fashioned his Three Garments out of coarse cloth.¹⁰⁷ When [these garments] wore through he would repair them and never change them, no matter how hot or cold the weather.¹⁰⁸

遠近併力一時繕造。役不逾時，欵然成就。而躬襲三衣，並是麤布。破便治補，寒暑無革。

There are, of course, limits to the utility of Daoxuan's hagiographies as means of understanding the building of Buddhist temples in the Liang as well as Tao Hongjing's building of Maoshan. The heroes of Daoxuan's text differ from their Maoshan counterpart most notably in that no direct assertion is made that their actions served as a precedent for present-day temple construction.¹⁰⁹ Daoxuan's text indicates, however, that tales of the achievements of the Liang dynasty builders were relevant in the early decades of the Tang dynasty.

¹⁰⁷ The "Three Garments" (*sanyi* 三衣) refer to the shirt, upper garment, and assembly robe of monks and nuns. For more on the clothing regulations, see Yifa, *The Origins*, 251–52.

¹⁰⁸ *T* 2060, 50.691c.

¹⁰⁹ Daoxuan was interested in using past events to justify his claims concerning the identity of monastic institutions of his day. See his *Daoxuan lüshi ganyin lu* 道宣律師感應錄 in which Daoxuan inquires about the history of a monasteries of his day. He writes, for example, about the history of the architecture at a monastery at Mount Wutai in present-day Shanxi province. Some people claimed Han Emperor Ming (r. 58–75 CE) constructed the monastery while others thought Northern Wei Emperor Xiaowen (r. 471–99 CE) was the builder. Daoxuan asserts that both legends were true, and in fact the monastery was first constructed by the tenth century BCE King Mu of Zhou 周穆, and later renovated by King Aśoka during his stūpa campaign. *T* 2107, 52.437a–b; Birnbaum, "The Manifestation of a Monastery," 125.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzes texts written in ancient and early medieval China to demonstrate that the records of clerics like Tao illuminate not simply *what* these men built but also *how* these events were interpreted and imagined by writers. The first part of this chapter focused on ways in which the construction of ritual architecture as imagined by medieval writers was in large part rooted in conceptions expressed centuries earlier in ancient China. I emphasize, however, that the early medieval period does mark an increased shift to describing ritual architecture as a monument not merely to the power of its sponsors but also to the authority of the clerics who increasingly designed and executed these architectural designs.

In the second part, I examined the writings of three clerics writing during Tao's lifetime—Sengyou, Baochang, and Huijiao—in an effort to explore to what degree Tao's assumptions about the architectural expertise of clerics resonated with his contemporaries. The writings of these Buddhist hagiographers are especially helpful in demonstrating that Tao's collation of Maoshan's ancient texts was echoed by the editorial tactics of his Buddhist contemporaries. The writings of Sengyou and Baochang are particularly helpful in highlighting how Tao's dual expertise as an editor and builder was paralleled in the lives of these early sixth-century exegetes. While nothing is known about Huijiao's involvement with monastic construction, the sheer number of hagiographies extant in his *Gaoseng zhuan* helped to show that Tao's written representation of the cleric's identity as an architect was a prevalent notion in the early sixth century. All of these texts establish that Tao's role as Maoshan's preeminent builder could and likely would have been recognized even if a reader or onlooker had no previous knowledge of Maoshan, Xu Mi, or Daoism.

CHAPTER 5

RELEARNING MAOSHAN

WRITING AND REWRITING CHINESE TEMPLES

The earlier chapters of this study have examined the argumentative qualities of writings about early medieval temple construction. Whereas scholars have tended to analyze these texts as straightforward descriptions of the architectural details of temples, this study understands them as shaping opinion about the individuals who built and funded these compounds. I have emphasized how the written representation of Buddhist and Daoist temples in this era increasingly focused the joint cooperation between clerics and sponsors in these construction projects. I first introduced how writers persuaded prospective sponsors by examining the rhetorical strategies that Yang Xi and Tao Hongjing deployed in writing about Maoshan. Over the next three chapters, I analyzed a disparate collection of texts to demonstrate that temple building was an important measure of religious and “professional” success of aspiring clerics everywhere in China and that their rise to fame was predicated on building relationships with sponsors. The excavation, building, and maintenance of Maoshan temples, in other words, was not an extraordinary but a commonplace example of the clerical enterprises emerging in this era. This comparative framework is especially helpful in situating Tao Hongjing’s (re)construction of Maoshan in the context of competing temple institutions of the early sixth century. This evidence suggests that Tao’s written

representation of Maoshan would have been recognizable to readers regardless of their familiarity with Maoshan or Daoist institutions.

Understanding the generic features of Tao's Maoshan enterprise better equips us to analyze texts that Tao composed during his later abbotship of Maoshan. As early as 513, Tao reconfigured his Maoshan temple compound as a center devoted to the practice of both Buddhist and Daoist rites. Previous scholarship of Tao's remaking of Maoshan as a Buddhist-Daoist holy site has related Tao's writings to the doctrinal debates of this era and concluded that Tao's adoption of Buddhist teachings helped Tao hedge his position in an era of proscriptions against Daoist lodges.¹ This chapter offers a new interpretation of Tao's later reconfiguration of Maoshan by highlighting that, despite the difference in the doctrinal configuration of Tao's later compound, there is nevertheless a consistency in the strategies he deploys to assert his clerical authority and commemorate the noble sponsors involved with his temple expansion. The evidence suggests that there was great stability, not a dramatic departure from his earlier plans of development, in Tao's representation of the temple. This chapter also argues that Tao's representation of the cooperation between clerical custodians and imperial sponsors formed a clear template for three centuries of shrine-building activity on Maoshan. I emphasize how later writers reinscribed the clerical presence at Maoshan by representing Xu's temple as a nexus between imperial and spiritual power. Tao's rewriting of Xu's hermitage, in other words, had a reverberating effect on the later development of the mountain.

My interest in the long-term writing and rewriting of Maoshan works toward an understanding of the building of Chinese temple compounds in a fashion akin to Allan Grapard's study of Japanese cultic centers. Grapard draws attention to the accretive nature in which writers operating over the course of several generations infused a site with various

¹ Strickmann, "A Taoist Confirmation," 471–72; Mugitani, "Ryo tenkan juhachi nen," 309.

(and at times conflicting) meanings.² During medieval times, for example, ancient Japanese temples were rebuilt to embody the layout of a Pure Land filled with buddhas and bodhisattvas. Grapard observes that *kami*, the ancient gods formerly enshrined at these complexes, were not erased during the rebuilding process but instead were positioned alongside Buddhist deities. These new combinations were instrumental in shaping the attitudes of sponsors who sought to please an ever-expanding pantheon of resident deities.³

This chapter adapts Grapard's approach to the rewriting of temple institutions to analyze how knowledge about Xu Mi's quiescent dwelling was conveyed through writing and received by readers. Studying the successive sponsorship of projects at Xu's temple underscores how in later centuries it was Tao's approach to building (and not Xu's) that established a template for subsequent construction at Maoshan. It further illustrates that conscious agency and authority over Xu's temple resided, at least in part, with writers who manipulated Maoshan's history to their advantage. Such a conclusion differs from recent studies of the construction of mountain temples in which sacred places are attributed a type of generic agency in which a place "tells an important story of its own."⁴ My purpose here is not to claim that writers operating at Maoshan were in full control over what readers thought and conceived about the mountain. Rather, I stress that the production of textual records manifested, within the practice of temple building, the product of negotiation between the interests of clerical developers and their aristocratic clients. Emphasizing the persuasive aims of these written records enables us to glean new insight into the social, political, and ritual contexts that writers sought to change through the representation of the past.

² Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁴ See James Robson's study of the textual records associated with a cluster of temple institutions at mountain Nanyue 南嶽 [Southern marchmount] where Robson characterizes these writings as forming a "legacy" through which readers acquire a "special sense of religious possibility." (*Power of Place*, 90, 132)

(5.1) *The Reconstruction of Xu Mi's Temple, ca. 516–18*

After circulating *Declarations* to potential sponsors in 499, Tao secured a lucrative imperial sponsorship by 501. On behalf of Tao, his new sponsor, Emperor Wu, constructed a three-story compound near Middle Mao Peak called the Floriate Solarity Lodge (*Huayang guan* 華陽館). But, after losing a series of court debates with Buddhist writers in 504, Tao's fortunes quickly turned.⁵ The emperor devised a massive building campaign for Buddhist institutions, resulting in the liquidation of many Daoist sites.⁶ While Maoshan was spared from closure in the wake of these initiatives, Tao's enterprise was at that point predicated on his ability to produce potent, but potentially deadly, elixirs for Emperor Wu.⁷ After many failed attempts to resign from his post, Tao secretly fled Maoshan for China's southeastern coast in 508. Four years later, an imperial emissary intercepted and escorted Tao back to Maoshan, presumably so that Tao could resume his work on the imperial elixirs in close proximity to the emperor.

Arriving back at Maoshan in 513, Tao made a startling announcement that months earlier he had taken part in a Buddhist initiation ceremony and intended to make his Maoshan

⁵ For more on these debates, see Ōta, "Ryō Butei no shadō," 418–19; Xue, "The Elusive Crane," 147. Studies of Tao's later abbacy include Funayama, "Tō Hōkei to Bukkyō," 354–55; Mugitani, "Tō Kōkei nenpu kōryaku [2]," 62–64 and "Ryo tenkan juhachi nen," 297–307; Strickmann, "A Taoist Confirmation," 467–68; Zhong, *Changsheng busi*, 22–26; Zhong, *Tao Hongjing pingzhuan*, 144–64; Bokenkamp, "Answering a Summons," 188–90; Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 30–37, 346.

⁶ An edict announcing the beginning of this campaign is preserved in Daoxuan's *Guang hongming ji* (T 2103, 52.112a). Scholars once viewed the edict, which is dated May 7, 504, as spurious. Recent studies, however, have determined it is an authentic artifact but was likely circulated in 519 (rather than 504) when the emperor publically took bodhisattva vows. Mori, *Ryō no Butei*, 138–39; Ōta, "Ryō Butei no shadō," 418–20; Strickmann, "A Taoist Confirmation," 467–68; Xiong, "Liang Wudi Tianjian sannian," 68–69; Zhao, "Guanyu Liang Wudi 'she dao shi fo,'" 3–4, and "Guanyu Liang Wudi 'she Dao' yu 'shi fo,'" 10; Janousch, "The Emperor as Bodhisattva," 113; Tian, *Beacon Fire*, 53–54. For more on Emperor Wu's building of monasteries, see Wang, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi*, 843; Suwa, *Chūgoku Nanchō Bukkyō*, 57–60; Yan, *Liang Wudi*, 264–71; Wang, "Culture and Literature," 179.

⁷ These elixirs did not merely pose a danger for the emperor since Tao's life too was in danger if he consumed these deadly potions. One of Tao's contemporaries, Deng Yu 鄧欲之 (d. 515), faced a similar conundrum as an imperial druggist; in the end, Deng's elixirs resulted in ritual suicide. NS, 76.1896; Eskildsen, *Asceticism*, 69; Robson, *Power of Place*, 150–52. When Tao left Maoshan in 508 he told Emperor Wu that he failed three times in making an elixir and needed to move to a different mountain to procure the right ingredients.

“blessed land” (*fudi* 福地) into a center for both Buddhist and Daoist learning.⁸ Emperor Wu applauded Tao’s revised plans for Maoshan, and he subsequently sponsored the Scarlet Solarity Lodge (*Zhuyang guan* 朱陽館), a large and costly compound to be built atop the ancient site of Xu’s hermitage.⁹ Tao and his crew moved to the site in the winter of 515, and prior to breaking ground at Leiping, Tao ordered his men to build a Daoist altar (*tan* 壇) east of the compound and a Buddhist reliquary stupa (*ta* 塔) flanking the western side.¹⁰

The first part of this chapter highlights two different approaches that Tao used to represent the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge. The first section (5.1.1) focuses on Tao’s compilation of memoirs attributed to a recently deceased disciple, Zhou Ziliang 周子良 (497–516 CE). In his commentary to this text, Tao improvised a strategy to turn Zhou’s tragic suicide into proof that the gods of Maoshan had allied with Tao (and by extension Emperor Wu). By drawing attention to the axis between the humans and gods of Maoshan, Tao reiterated that the relationship between humans and gods established in Yang Xi’s day had been reestablished. The second section (5.1.2) examines Tao’s reinscription of his authority in a commemorative inscription that Tao composed at the completion of the Scarlet

⁸ Tao reportedly took the five Buddhist precepts (*wujie* 五戒) at an Aśoka stupa in Maoxian 鄞縣 (present-day Ningbo) in 512 while traveling from southeastern China to Maoshan. The five precepts (*wujie* 五戒) are no killing, no stealing, no debauchery, no false speech, and no alcohol. Funayama, “Tō Hōkei to Bukkyō,” 369–70. Very little in the way of material or written evidence from Tao’s later abbotship is extant. There is a stone wellhead and bricks with inscriptions referring to Tao as both a master of the Buddhist and Daoist arts; see *Shodō zenshū*, 5.142–43, pls. 34–35. The same representation of Tao as a Buddhist-Daoist master is also featured in the stone placards from a nearby grave. Chen, “Tao Hongjing shu muzhuan,” 54–56; Mugitani, “Ryo tenkan juhachi nen kinenmei bosen,” 292–95; Xue, “The Elusive Crane,” 10. Tao also circulated apologies and compendia written about Buddhist rituals like *Li Fo wen* 禮佛文 [Honoring the Buddha’s writings] and *Fa jian lun* 法檢論 [Treatise on the dharma sword], but none of these works are extant. Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 110; Strickmann, “Saintly Fools,” 43.

⁹ The Scarlet Solarity Lodge (*Zhuyang guan* 朱陽館) was adjacent to the site of Xu Mi’s residence. In addition to a massive sanctuary, the emperor also provided funds for the “Perfected Tower” (*zhentai* 真臺), a tall loft building rising above the entire complex. See *DZ* 304, 17.2a–3a [*ZHDZ*, 48.445c–46a]. For more on the building of this compound, see Ōfuchi, *Dōkyō to sono kyōten*, 428–30; Mugitani, “Tō Kōkei nenpu kōryaku [2]” 62; Tuzuki, “Rikuchō kōki ni okeru Dōkan no seiritsu,” 327. As we saw in chapter 1, clerics had known about the site of Xu’s temple, which Tao calls the Jade Dawn Observatory (*Yuchen guan* 玉晨觀), for decades prior to Tao’s move to Maoshan in 492. In *Declarations*, Tao writes that there was a taboo against building at the site, and thus the site was undeveloped.

¹⁰ Falin 法琳 (572–640 CE) writes that Tao alternated between Buddhist and Daoist rites on a daily basis. *T* 2110, 52.546c.

Solarity Lodge in 518. I first analyze Tao's shift in his stance on building at the site of Xu's temple, emphasizing his representation of this event as a sign that the gods residing beneath Maoshan had deemed Emperor Wu the rightful heir to Maoshan's legacy. I also demonstrate that Tao forwarded these claims to bolster his status as chief builder of the imperial institution.

(5.1.1) *Tao Hongjing's Re-revelation of Xu's Temple*

The earliest extant text in which Tao described the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge is the *Zhoushi mingtong ji* 周氏冥通記 [Zhou's record of his communications with the unseen, hereafter *Record*]. *Record* is a collection of memoirs attributed to Tao's disciple, Zhou Ziliang, who died by suicide less than a year after construction commenced. In his preface to *Record*, Tao claims to have discovered Zhou's memoirs in a cave within a large sealed letter case nearly a year after Zhou's death. After transcribing these texts and appending his commentary, Tao circulated the text to the throne in 517.

Scholarship on *Record* has focused on how Tao edited Zhou's revelations, at least in part, to shape public opinion on these unfortunate events, as well as to draw moral lessons for Emperor Wu. Tao diverted blame for his disciple's death by arguing that Zhou's suicide was not a tragic event, as onlookers might have assumed. Zhou's writings, which were composed in a style similar to Yang Xi's communication with the Perfected, indicate that the teenager's suicide was, in fact, a ritual death ensuring the young adept a position among the otherworld bureaucracy.¹¹ Zhou's suicide also reminded the emperor of the dangers of consuming drugs of the sort that Emperor Wu had incessantly requested of Tao.¹²

¹¹ *DZ* 302, 1.1a–4a.

¹² Bokenkamp, "Answering a Summons," 189, 196–99.

One aspect of Tao's compilation of *Record* that has received little attention is the way he used the text to renegotiate with Emperor Wu concerning the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge. In the revelations and commentary to *Record*, both Zhou and Tao emphasize that the imperial order to move to Leiping Peak in the early winter of 515 was fraught with difficulty. Zhou was torn as to whether he should accompany Tao to Leiping or remain with his aunt in Maoshan's central valley. In a revelation dated August 13, 515, Zhou writes about a conversation with the deity Mao Gu 茅固 about building his own residence at Leiping. Mao told Zhou, who at the time was still living with his aunt, that Leiping, where he would live with Tao, was not as nice as his present residence. The deity assuages Zhou's fears about moving to Maoshan by reassuring him that all the sites at Maoshan are among the finest real estate in all southeast China.

Be aware that the place behind Leiping Peak that you have expressed interest in living is not better than where you currently reside. It would be good [to live there] if you were looking for a place to avert the misfortunes of disasters or wars.¹³ This site was not originally destined to be the "silent place of the recluse" [i.e., Tao Hongjing's residence], but was only a refuge [for those] escaping calamities. It will make no difference whether you decide to live [at Leiping] or not. As for that place in which you can "attach your form" [i.e., retire], you must make up your own mind. If you have not made up your mind, how could I possibly tell you what you will say in the future? Know that only Goushan [i.e., Maoshan] is a place you should live. While there are many famous mountains in the southeast [China] I have never seen a place that rivals the scenery here. You should advise Tao [Hongjing] to reside on this mountain.¹⁴

所云欲住雷平山後，此亦不勝今居。論災厲刀兵水火之事，乃為好耳。此地本非可隱居寂處，直可以避災害。住與不住，無勝否也。又論方託形何處，此由人心。心既未發，吾寧得知方將而言？唯句曲可住，吳越名山乃不少，未見有大勝地，猶勸陶居此山。」

In his commentary to this passage, Tao writes that Zhou's revelation verifies that the Maoshan deities had been observing Tao's plans to construct at Leiping Peak. Tao first

¹³ The phrase *shuihuo* 水火 ("water and fire") refers to all kinds of disasters, particularly those involving drowning or arson. See *DKW* 6.859c.

¹⁴ *DZ* 302, 3.14a–b [*SSMTK*, 184].

reminds readers about the fifth-century development of temple institutions near the site of Xu's hermitage and notes that his plans had followed the emperor's order to build on the site. Zhou's revelations, however, gave Tao second thoughts about the imperial decision to build at this hallowed site. Tao expresses his remorse that he had not tried to contact Maoshan's deities prior to commencing construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge. Tao concludes that, by unwittingly agreeing to build a temple atop Xu's hermitage, he could possibly face retribution from the Perfected.

The Ultimate Worthy [i.e., emperor] bestowed his grace and endowed the Daoist priests [sponsored by the Liu]-Song King of Changsha with two station houses flanking the sides of an empty [parcel of] land.¹⁵ It is here at a site to the west of these station houses that we have built our observatory in front of [these old] buildings.¹⁶ This is the ancient foundation of senior administrator Xu's [temple], and I fear that it may be close to the traces of a Perfected [deity]. It is possible that I will be reprimanded [for these actions], and might have to undergo scrupulous interrogation [by the Perfected]. Thinking [about this] makes me regret that I did not directly write a letter [to the Perfected], for direct communication would have elicited a direct response.¹⁷

于時至尊垂恩，為置宋長沙道士二廨并左右空地。於此廨西復為起觀前左右。即是許長史舊基，竊恐則近真縱。或以致譴，故二因聞耳。追恨不得作方畱通辭，方畱通辭則亦應方畱酬答也。

In light of Zhou's revelations, Tao proposes that, while the emperor's decision to build at Leiping Peak may not be wrong, the sponsor and cleric should consider how to ameliorate the relations between humans and gods of Maoshan posthaste.

It is unclear from extant texts what qualities of the Leiping site made living and building there such an arduous task. By the winter of 515, Zhou was still debating whether to move to Tao's new community. In a revelation written on November 9, 515, the deity Mao Gu continues his discussion with Zhou concerning the latter's move to Leiping. Lord Mao

¹⁵ For more on the construction of the Liu-Song lodge at Leiping Peak, see pp. 42–43 in chapter 1.

¹⁶ Tao usually refers to compounds at Maoshan as lodges (*guǎn* 館) rather than observatories (*guàn* 觀). The latter term was commonplace in later centuries to refer to Daoist institutions, and its appearance here is likely a scribal error.

¹⁷ DZ 302, 3.14b [SSMTK, 184–85].

reluctantly gives Zhou permission to move near Tao's compound and advises him on the spot that he should occupy:

The Scarlet Solarity [Lodge] is not where you [should] be living, but if you must go be sure to live on the left side of the Scarlet Solarity. Liangchang [Peak] is a superb place, but I fear that you should not live there [either].¹⁸

朱陽非爾所居處，若不能遠去，只朱陽左側亦好。良常為勝，恐爾不能處之耳。

In his commentary to this record, Tao states that Zhou moved into Tao's residence the following day, November 10. Tao further explains that Zhou's hesitation to move to the Scarlet Solarity Lodge was the result of Zhou's fear that he might interfere with bureaucratic entanglements at Tao's "public lodge" (*gongguan* 公館).¹⁹ This suggests that one of the biggest differences between Leiping and the central valleys of Maoshan, where Tao lived both before and immediately after his escape from Maoshan, was that Leiping was more accessible to the capital and to an increased number of royal visitors. By living at Leiping, Tao and Zhou dwelled in closer proximity to and under closer scrutiny by the emperor. We also know that there was more direct contact with other lodges that had operated for decades prior to the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge. One of Tao's close associates, Jiang Fuchu 蔣負麴, had built the Revered Solarity Lodge (*Zongyang guan* 宗陽館) under the auspices of Emperor Gao of the Qi (Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成, 487–82 CE) and later constructed the Accompanying Perfection Lodge (*Peizhen guan* 陪真館) at the foot of Leiping Peak.²⁰ Tao describes the latter institution as in close proximity to the site of Xu's hermitage in his commentary in *Declarations*.

¹⁸ DZ 302, 4.9a [SSMTK, 213].

¹⁹ DZ 302, 4.9a [SSMTK, 213]. See chapter 1, p. 46 for more on the distinction between public and private lodges.

²⁰ DZ 1132, 1.10a [ZHDZ, 28.385b]; Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 238–39, and "On Pre-Tang," 153. In Jiang's hagiography from the *Daoxue zhuan*, Mashu writes that Jiang retired from his abbotship of his Maoshan community sometime in the early fifth century, but no exact date is given. If Jiang was not the head of the

Head southeast past the senior administrator's hermitage until you arrive around Leiping Peak; there are many fine places to live. This is where Jiang Yuanchou of Yixing and many others have jointly established a "field dwelling" at the foot of the [Leiping's] ridge.²¹ It is only about four or five *li* away from the senior administrator's residence.²²

近東南取長史宅，至雷平間，甚有可住處，義興蔣員蒨等。今並立田舍於崗下，近去長史宅四五里。

Other passages from *Record* corroborate that there was an increased level of competition for sponsorship at Leiping, and that Tao circulated Zhou's revelations to distinguish his ritual practices from those of neighboring groups. This tension is most clearly seen passages describing a deadly drought that plagued Maoshan in the summer of 515.²³ In response to this impending crisis, Tao and Zhou jointly presented a supplication on July 16, pleading that the gods take pity on the farmers and provide them with rain. According to Zhou, the supplication he offered with his master was not a success, for by the night of the seventeenth no sign of the promised miracle had come. After falling asleep, however, Zhou writes about a dream he had of a young man reporting that the deities of Maoshan had received the supplication that he and Tao had offered. The deity announced to Zhou Ziliang that the gods had made contact with Zhou on this occasion because the superior virtues of Zhou and his master Tao Hongjing had led the spirits to take pity on Maoshan.

On the twenty-first night of the sixth month [July 17, 515] I dreamt of a person, who was about thirty years old wearing leggings and white hemp jacket. He wore a flat cap and held a black tablet in his hands; he appeared most dignified and reverential. He claimed that he was a lower official sent by an aide named Zhao to report to me. He said, "Yesterday you and the hidden recluse Tao [Hongjing] presented us with a supplication, which stated that you require rain and that your king is worried about his people. While we received [your supplication], we are obliged to let the seasons pass as they ought to. We have also received countless of petitions and supplications from

Accompanying Perfection Lodge when Tao received Emperor Wu's orders to build at Leiping, then Jiang's son, Jiang Hongsu 蔣弘素, would have served as the current head of these lodges.

²¹ Yixing 義興 is a little over sixty kilometers east of Maoshan.

²² *DZ* 1016, 11.5b [*SKKK*, 399].

²³ The 515 drought lasted well into mid-July, but was not nearly as severe as the drought that had plagued southern China a decade earlier when famine and economic collapse were omnipresent. *LS*, 39.

other places, but we cannot respond to any of these. Tao has already established merit through his actions, and now you, [Zhou], have recently come to this place. It is because the virtue of you two men should be confirmed, with no attention to issues of deference and from concern for your anxieties, that [Zhao] has sent me to provide you this report.²⁴

六月二十一日夜，夢一人，年可三十許，白布袴褶。平上幘，執手版，版黑色，形容乃端雅見敬。自稱趙丞使下官相聞。而言曰：「昨所與陶隱居共有辭，欲須雨事，國主憂民。乃至，但時運應爾。比諸處屢有章辭，皆不與報。陶既有功行，周方來於此。當為驗二人之德，不煩謙謙，恐悞望，故遣報。」

The deity acknowledged that they had received petitions from countless *other* places, but it was Tao's work in *this* place that had caused the deities to come to their assistance. Zhou pleaded with the spirit for help since the drought had caused great hardships for the local farmers. The crops had already dried up, and without immediate rainfall there would be no chance to harvest a fall crop. The deity told Zhou that the problem with the previous petition was a mechanical error, and if they resubmitted the petition, the deities might grant their request for rain.

You should not worry about whether it will rain; instead worry if there will be a deluge. The words of your previous supplication were well written, but if you are requesting rain you should use black ink not vermilion ink which is used for requesting sunshine. In either case you should use azure paper. People always say that the spirits value cinnabar and azure, but they do not understand that these colors are only efficacious in certain circumstances. There are many cases like this in the human world, but rarely does any [god] inform [humans about] these [details]. Then, because they don't know, people just say that the gods are not numinous. If you want to resubmit your supplication in black ink, please do not use the same words from last time.²⁵

當不慮不雨；恐不得洪溢耳。前辭言語乃好，但請雨應墨書，請晴應朱書，並青紙上。人唯言神重丹青，不知丹青有不會處。諸如此者，世間非一，但無人報其此意。其既不自知，反云神而無靈。願更作墨書辭，勿同前語。

²⁴ DZ 302, 2.15b–16a [SSMTK, 127–28].

²⁵ DZ 302, 2.16a [SSMTK, 128].

By Tao's account, Zhou must have then resubmitted the document in his private room, for Zhou awoke the next morning telling family members that a visitor in his dream said that it would rain later that day. Around 11:30 a.m., Zhou left his house on his way up the mountain to Tao's lodge. At the start of his trek up the mountain, Zhou noticed some rainclouds rolling in from the east. By the time he neared the lodge, there was such a large downpour that Zhou could hardly keep his footing on the muddy path. Once this rain fell on Maoshan, it quickly disappeared; none of the surrounding areas received rain that day. Having understood the circumstances behind the torrential rains that fell at Maoshan on July 19, 515, Tao searched everywhere for the second supplication that Zhou offered in private, but he found it nowhere among Zhou's belongings. At the end of the commentary, Tao inserts the text from the first supplication that he offered jointly with Zhou on July 17, 515. Tao describes the plight of the farmers of this area and demanded that the deities respond to the present injustice.

We have humbly sought to procure an order for the families of this land. Grains are their main source of food and by it they draw income from farming. They have recently been fighting against a drought that has lasted for many weeks. The sprouts of grain they planted are now shriveled up . . . We humbly make known to the [deity] in charge of rain and water that there is a matter requiring his oversight. We want you to take pity on the common people and impart your grace by giving them moisture. Call out the winds, beckon the clouds. In the flash of an eye floodwaters will come and the rivers will swell. All will be saved on both land and at sea.²⁶

竊尋下民之命，粒食為本，農功所資，在於潤澤，頃亢旱積旬，
苗稼焦涸.....伏聞水雨之任，有所司存。願哀愍黔首，霑垂沾渥，
呼風召雲，膚寸而合，使洪潦溢川，水陸咸濟。

Tao drew readers' attention to his success in working for the weal of Emperor Wu by featuring this supplication in his commentary. The discovery of Zhou's revelation facilitated Tao's reinterpretation of recent events; Tao argues that what may have at first appeared to be failures, were, in fact, signs of success. Tao, and by extension the regime employing him, had

²⁶ DZ 302, 2.16b–17a [SSMTK, 129–30].

brought about a new wave of spirit-human contact. By including the words of the supplication that *he* wrote, Tao reinforces the spirit messenger's statement that it was Tao's virtue and the superiority of Maoshan that moved the gods to send a messenger.

Tao also coupled his reinterpretation of past events in *Record* with a prospectus for future development at Maoshan, a rhetorical strategy similar to the one he deployed in *Declarations*. Tao proposes to Emperor Wu that the recovery of Zhou's revelations indicated that they should consider completing a half-finished structure Zhou had built near the Leiping site earlier, in 516. Zhou had begun construction of his personal residence while in conversation with Mao Gu about where he should move at Leiping. Mao had detailed three different kinds of blueprints that Zhou should consider for his "small room" (*xiao wu* 小屋) near the main lodge.

On the eighth day of the eleventh month [November 29, 515] I dreamt I saw [Lord] Dinglu [i.e., Mao Gu] and reported to him, "I wish to move into a small room to the east of the Scarlet Solarity [Lodge]. Would this be permissible?" [Dinglu] replied, "The eastern [side] would be fine, but it is a pity that [the site] has been divined as a burial site and will be difficult [to construct upon].²⁷ You should build a four-room compound, or if that is not possible than a hall with eastern and western rooms [flanking each side]. At the last resort you [could build] what is called a 'lonely and haunted hermitage.' But you must remember that once you are gone you must pass this [place] on to posterity."²⁸

十一月八日，夢見定錄，因自陳「欲寄朱陽東為小屋。未審可爾不？」。答云：「東好，所恨，下葬為不便耳。夫居當作四合舍，不者不可不作堂東西廂。若不爾，名為孤凶宅。但以意作之，爾其去矣，以遺來者。」

In his commentary, Tao describes how he reexamined this site after reading Zhou's revelations. He reiterates that this site was indeed marked by inauspicious elements; these had given him second thoughts about building as well. Tao identifies three ramparts (*guo* 鄣)

²⁷ *Xia* 下 is a scribal error for *bu* 卜 as evidenced by an earlier revelation concerning sites for Zhou's burial, *DZ* 302, 1.14b [*SSMTK*, 58].

²⁸ *DZ* 302, 4.9b–10a [*SSMTK*, 216].

that looked like graves and an area overgrown with weeds that once was an old sorcerer's ritual space (*wuchang* 巫場).²⁹ But Tao pleads that two years earlier, when Zhou first wanted to build his own residence at Leiping, he was unaware of these inauspicious elements. He had encouraged Zhou to build there by giving him money to build a small residence. By Tao's account, Zhou had made significant progress on building the compound prior to his death in 516: he had constructed three rooms, as well as planted a grove of trees and bamboo. Once again, Tao disparages the nearby residents who led Zhou astray and ultimately contributed to his death.

Tao wrote forward-looking statements in *Record* as well. He proposes to expand the Scarlet Solarity Lodge in two ways, given his discovery of Zhou's revelations. Tao writes that the caves near Zhou's residence would make an ideal site for a graveyard;³⁰ he also recommends that Zhou's half-finished dwelling should be restored and finished. Just as his Scarlet Solarity Lodge preserved the traces of Yang's mid-fourth-century temple, the completion of Zhou's residence would celebrate an individual who established communication with the gods below Maoshan. While it is uncertain what, if anything, Tao rebuilt at the site of Zhou's half-finished "small room," Tao clearly understands the recovery of Zhou's revelations as an event worthy of veneration in the form of a construction project.

As for Zhou wanting to build his own residence, I was in support of the idea. I gave ten thousand catties of money in an effort to go find a location. He originally wanted to build a three-room hall with corridors on the east and west [of a central room], and plant [a grove] of trees and bamboo. But some Daoist priests, whose hearts were not in the right place, filled [Zhou's head] with all kinds of crazy ideas. And thus Zhou never completed the corridors but only finished the three rooms. Now that I have seen the traces [of Zhou's revelations] I understand that this is not what he originally hoped to accomplish. Lately I have

²⁹ *DZ* 302, 4.10b [*SSMTK*, 217].

³⁰ *DZ* 302, 4.10a [*SSMTK*, 216]. In his revelations, Yang Xi expresses great interest in Maoshan's ancient burial mounds. Yang describes a site near Yugang Peak (see Daheng Peak, MAP 5, C-6) where King Goujian 句踐 of Yue (r. 496–465 BCE) was buried. *DZ* 1016, 13.17b [*SKKK*, 498]. King Goujian was the hegemon who unified the southeastern states of Wu and Yue. See *Shiji*, 41.1746–47.

begun to think perhaps I will go and resume work on that project . . . it will best to fix it up now lest it become overgrown with weeds.³¹

至於周欲別立屋，便虛心相許。自為看地，給錢一萬。伊本顧即作三間堂，東西廂各二間，林竹至。而道士心未善者，互興言說，遂不成復作廂，止三間堂屋而已。今日方見事迹如此，明非已立意也。比者微有準擬，猶欲追為起之……今則並修理之，不令蕪雜也。

Record reflects the key rhetorical strategies that Tao used while in the process of building the Scarlet Solarity Lodge. In many ways, Tao's representation of the building at Leiping reflects the same kind of strategies he deployed in *Declarations*. In both texts, Tao draws on the revelatory literature of the past to assert his present position as Maoshan's developer, and he uses these texts as evidence for why he (and not his competition) should lead future construction projects. Unlike *Declarations*, in which Tao collected a body of texts that had circulated among readers for decades in different forms, *Record* asserts not only that Zhou's revelations had never been seen but that they described events that had yet to reach completion. Zhou's revelations and Tao's commentary depict two different phases of a project still underway, and Tao argues that the content of these texts could (and arguably should) impact the way that Emperor Wu decided to carry out the remainder of the project.

³¹ DZ 302, 4.10a [SSMTK, 216–17].

(5.1.2) *Between Altar and Stupa: The “Xu Mi Stele”*

In 518, at the completion of the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, Tao funded the engraving of a stele monument to be erected in front of the main sanctuary of the compound. Tao wrote an inscription for the monument, the “Xu Changshi jiuguan tan bei” 許長史舊館壇碑 [Stele for the altar of senior administrator Xu’s ancient lodge; hereafter, “Xu Mi Stele”].³² Tao loosely based his “Xu Mi Stele” on an ancient style of composition known as “eulogy and dirge” (*minglei* 銘采), a combination of a prose biography dedicated to a hero of antiquity and a ritual hymn.³³ In the biographical portion of “Xu Mi Stele,” Tao focuses on the accomplishments of Xu Mi and his family, with a particular emphasis on Xu’s official accomplishments and retired life at Maoshan.

When [Xu Mi] retired from official life he moved into a mountain shanty and concentrated on cultivation practices. Although he acted as an official and often expressed his opinion at the royal academy, his ultimate goals were far from commonplace . . . He was quite fond of occult mysteries and cherished even more [the passage of] time. He was always highly regarded as one who could enter into pacts with the spirit world. In the *xingning* reign [January 31, 363–January 27, 366], a group of Perfected descended to him and told him how to prepare an injunction for dissemination.³⁴

³² I have consulted the following transcriptions of the “Xu Mi Stele”: *QLW*, 47.8b–10b [pp. 3221–22]; *YWLJ*, 78.1342; *DZ* 304, 20.7a–13b [*ZHDZ*, 48.454a–56b]; *JGT*, A1–6 [pp. 620–22]; *SQZR*, 1–12 [pp. 569–74]; *THJJJZ*, 171–74; Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 18–21. For more on the dating of this text, see Li, “Xu Changshi,” 190. The monument featuring the “Xu Mi Stele” no longer exists as it was destroyed by a fire in 1524 (see *JGT*, B12b [p. 628]; Xue, “The Elusive Crane,” 9, 261), but it is preserved in a number of transcriptions. *SQZR*, 1–11a [p. 569–74]; Chen, *Baoke congbian*, 15.24b [p. 18333]; Ouyang, *Jigu lumu*, 3.6a [p. 17958]; Miao, *Jiangsu jinshi zhi*, 2.22a–25a [pp. 9482–83]; Zhu, *Pushu ting*, 3.12a [p. 18696]; Gu, *Jinshi wenzi ji*, 2.8b [p. 9214]; Wu, *Shoutang jinshi ba*, 3.7b–8a [p. 19103]; Han, *Baotie zhai jinshi wen bawei*, 1.4a [p. 14401]; *JGT*, A1a–6b [pp. 620–22]. The calligraphy of the text is attributed to Sun Wentao 孫文韜 (fl. early sixth century, byname Wencang 文藏), a disciple who accompanied Tao to Maoshan in 512.

³³ Brashier notes that the biographical prose portion of the inscription stressed a dedicatee’s distant forebears and recent lineage in way that mimicked the order of tablets in an ancestral hall. See his “Eastern Han Commemorative Stelae,” 1043–47. Studies of the ritual odes concluding these inscriptions indicate that these poems offered writers a chance to exhibit their literary prowess, and these texts were often copied as rubbings and disseminated widely. Wu, *Monumentality*, 222; Brashier, “Text and Ritual,” 255–56, 266, and “Eastern Han Commemorative Stelae,” 1033; Harist, *The Landscape of Words*, 236; Cutter, “Saying Goodbye,” 71–74. For more on the composition of these texts, see Bielenstein, “Later Han Inscriptions and Dynastic Biographies,” 571–74; Ebrey, “Later Han Stone Inscriptions”; Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk*, 74–78.

³⁴ *QLW*, 47.9a [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.8b–9a [*ZHDZ*, 48.454c]; *JGT*, A2a–b [p. 620]; *SQZR*, 4b–5a [pp. 570–71]; *THJJJZ*, 174.

於焉告退，專靜山廬，以脩上道。君雖搢紱朝班，諷議庠塾，而心標象外……君尚想幽奇，歲月彌軫。恒與揚君深神明之契。興寧中，眾真降揚，備令宣諭。

In general, Tao's representation of Xu Mi and Xu's family differs little from the details he wrote about the Xu family's genealogy in *Declarations*. Tao's "Xu Mi Stele" inscription, however, departs from his previous writings in that Tao situates this account within a larger narrative about the ancient history of Maoshan, with a particular focus on Emperor Wu's redevelopment of the mountain. Tao begins his account of the history of construction at Maoshan with a description of the gods who first fashioned Maoshan millennia before. Tao represents these deities as builders and developers; they were "artisans" (*jiang* 匠) who "built their shanties" (*jia lu* 架廬) out of rock.

There was once an obscure artisan,
Who excavated these rocks and built his shanty.
His disposition and carriage was truly exceptional,
As was his terrestrial home among the celestial bureau.
He twisted the peaks to curve and coil,
And designed the ramparts to rise like lungs.³⁵

亦有幽匠
開石架廬
情高身遠
天府地居
縈巒巴曲
畫壤肺浮

Tao develops a lineage of individuals who lived at Leiping Peak in subsequent centuries. Tao describes, for instance, how the three Mao brothers lived at the site during the Han dynasty prior to becoming deities in Maoshan's underworld bureaucracy. Tao writes that Xu Mi and Xu Hui later came to this site and established the foundation upon which Tao's compound now rests. Tao asserts that the Xus' "contact with the spirits" (*jie shen* 接神) was directly related to the buildings and the well they constructed at Leiping Peak.

In the days of old during the Western Han,
The three Mao [brothers] came here as guests.
By the time of the Eastern Jin,
The two Xus had aspirations of perfection.
They laid a foundation and dug a well,

昔在西漢
三茅來賓
爰暨東晉
二許懷真
裁基浚井

³⁵ *QLW*, 47.10a [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.10b [ZHDZ, 48.455b]; *JGT*, A4a [p. 621]; *SQZR*, 9a [p. 573]; *THJJJZ*, 182–83.

Tao depicts the settlement of Maoshan by the Mao brothers and the Xu family as models for later residents. Tao describes the fifth-century construction of the temple under the auspices of King Jing and Emperor Wu's Scarlet Solarity Lodge as two architectural manifestations of the same lineage of human occupants at Leiping. Tao's imperially sanctioned redevelopment of this site was the latest in an unbroken chain of projects.

During the time of Han Emperor Yuan, the three Mao Lords of Xianyang attained the Dao and came here to assume posts [over the three bureaus].³⁷ Thus [this place] is called Maoshan and this history is well documented. Afterwards, in the first year of the *taihe* reign in the Jin [366 CE], senior administrator Xu [Mi] constructed his hermitage here; traces of his [compound] survive [here] today.³⁸ In the beginning of the [Liu-]Song dynasty [420–79 CE] King Jing of Changsha built a concentrative dwelling for a Daoist priest to the east [of Xu's residence].³⁹ In the thirteenth year of the *tianjian* reign [February 10, 514–January 30, 515], there was an imperial decree to convert this site from a concentrative dwelling into the Scarlet Solarity Lodge.⁴⁰

前漢元帝世，有咸陽三茅君得道，來掌此任。故稱茅山，具詳。
至晉太和元年，句容許長史在斯營宅；厥跡猶存。宋初長沙景王，
就其地之東，起道士精舍。梁天監十三年，敕質此精舍，立為朱
陽館。

Tao's representation of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge differs from its predecessors in that Tao stresses the imperial acquisition of the site. Tao acknowledges the synergy between Emperor Wu (sponsor) and himself (cleric) in bringing the lodge to completion. He also frequently emphasizes his personal accomplishments as the clerical resident of Maoshan. Tao draws attention, for example, to his exploration of the site prior to construction, when he discovered ancient ruins. Tao writes that he found the clay vessels and bricks on the site of Xu's former

³⁶ *QLW*, 47.10a [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.10b–11a [*ZHDZ*, 48.455b]; *JGT*, A4a [p. 621]; *SQZR*, 9b [p. 573]; *THJJZ*, 183.

³⁷ Han Emperor Yuan is Liu Shi 劉爽, r. 48–33 BCE.

³⁸ In his commentary in *Declarations*, Tao calls Xu's compound Jade Dawn Observatory (*Yuchen guan* 玉晨觀), but this name appears nowhere in the texts he composed during his later construction at the site.

³⁹ For relevant sources on King Jing (Liu Daolian 劉道憐, 368–422 CE), see chapter 1, p. 43.

⁴⁰ *QLW*, 47.8b [p. 3221]; *DZ* 304, 20.7b [*ZHDZ*, 48.454b]; *JGT*, A1a–b [p. 620]; *SQZR*, 2a–b [p. 569]; *THJJZ*, 172.

residence, as well as a staircase that had collapsed and fallen into pieces. Prior to his intervention, there was a thick canopy of trees and weeds covering the entire site. And the roots of these trees invaded the walls of Xu's old buildings, causing the walls to crumble.⁴¹

The clay vessels and bricks are practically submerged.	甗甗將淪
The sunken staircase is already demolished.	沉階已毀
Big trees have enabled the frost to creep in,	拱樹霜催
The ritual hall has been overgrown with weeds. ⁴²	脩庭草委

According to Tao, the first stage of redevelopment involved reconfiguring the layout of the compound. At the center of Tao's design was the foundation of Xu's temple, the site upon which Tao would eventually build a monumental sanctuary (see below). But before constructing the main ritual hall, Tao first erected a reliquary stupa and Daoist altar flanking the remains of Xu's ancient home. As we saw from his prospectus in *Declarations*, Tao envisioned Xu's residence as a particularly hallowed spot from which individuals could reach godhood quickly and effortlessly. Here Tao increases the mystique of the compound by physically "connecting" (*tong* 通) these two emblems of Buddhist and Daoist practice. He also installed a drainage system as if to express his confidence that the emperor would see this site and award Tao a lucrative sponsorship to build a temple of impressive scale.

East [of the sanctuary] was an azure altar and on its western side a white stupa; between the stupa and the altar laid the [old] foundation [of Xu Mi's temple]. [There we] buried the drainage [system] and covered [it with] tiles; we put all our effort into our spades to make clay.⁴³

⁴¹ The image of overgrown weeds on ancient architecture was an especially evocative image for Tao. In his "Wugui" 物軌 [The traces of things], a poem in the *Huayang song*, Tao describes apples that had been "left behind" (*yu* 餘) by ancient farmers, as well as pungent roots like onions and shallots that are "vestiges" (*yi* 遺) of the past. These plants, writes Tao, now "overflow" (*yu* 鬱) and "cover" (*man* 蔓) the mountainside hinting that traces of past residents lay hidden underneath. *DZ* 1016, 13.19a [SKKK, 502].

⁴² *QLW*, 47.10a [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.11a [ZHDZ, 48.455b]; *JGT*, A4a [p. 621]; *SQZR*, 10a [p. 573]; *THJJZ*, 183.

⁴³ *QLW*, 47.9b–10a [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.10a [ZHDZ, 48.455a]; *JGT*, A3b [p. 621]; *SQZR*, 7b–8a [p. 572]; *THJJZ*, 179. Tao had a penchant for describing temple compounds with metonyms related to a temple's guttering system. See his letter to disciple Lu Jingyou above where Tao refers to a lodge as a "four downspouts" (*siliu* 四霤, see chapter 4, pp. 143–44). *Ling* 瓴 ("drainage tiles") were concave tiles placed in a long row along the eaves of a building, or as underground as a perimeter drain (*DKW*, 7.1000b). The Liang Emperor Jianwen uses the same term to describe a cleric (*chu shi* 出師) who built a tall building (*gao wu* 高屋) by first installing

東位青壇，西表素塔。壇塔之間，通是基趾。埋瓚擗瓦，投鋪便埴。

After writing about his preparation for construction at Leiping, Tao introduces Emperor Wu, who upon seeing Tao's plan, ordered that an impressive sanctuary be built atop the ancient foundation. Tao represents the emperor as responsible for the ostentatious display of fine fragrances, gemstones, and imperial treasures that were thereafter housed in the sanctuary. Of all the attributes Tao uses to describe the new sanctuary, perhaps none was as symbolically charged as the jade tesserae (*yu jian* 玉檢), scroll tags stored in a gemstone chest and cloaked within an adytum lined with luxurious silk curtains.⁴⁴ In antiquity, emperors wrote requests to deities during mountain rituals and imagined the gods receiving these documents after the messages were covered with jade tesserae and bound with golden string. The presence of the jade tesserae within the newly constructed Maoshan sanctuary, which occupied a site on the northwestern foothills of Maoshan, meant that this site was likewise a platform from which Emperor Wu could communicate his wishes and worries to the spirit world. By highlighting these written treasures, Tao stresses the textual riches of Maoshan and asserts that this compound would thereafter serve as the place from which the emperor would communicate his wishes to the spirit world.

Ever mindful of the plans of the past,⁴⁵
And diligently following the great tracks.⁴⁶

永觀前猷
聿遵洪軌

the *ling*. *YWLJ*, 74.1276. Given that the lowlands of Maoshan are marshlands, it makes sense that developers would first invest in a proper drainage system prior to construction.

⁴⁴ Writers of Han dynasty apocryphal texts describe jade tesserae (*yu jian* 玉檢) as cases housing heavenly revealed texts. *Lunyu chan* 論語讖 in Yasui, *Chōshū isho shūsei*, 5.130; Hsieh, *Writing from Heaven*, 178–79. Yang Xi characterizes jade tesserae as powerful heavenly writings, and discloses three sets of talismans to Xu Mi purporting to record this celestial script. Yang further details how adepts should copy these talismans in triplicate and distribute them during mountain rituals. These talismans and descriptions of the requisite rituals are contained in *Shangqing sanyuan yujian sanyuan bujing* 上清三元玉檢三元布經 (Schipper, *The Taoist Canon*, 157). In this scripture, the Celestial Worthy of Primordial Commencement used jade tesserae when commanding his heavenly subordinates. *DZ* 354, 1a–b [*ZHDZ*, 1.344a–c]. It was this commanding function of jade tesserae that likely symbolized an emperor's power during imperial rites. For more on the latter, see appendix 2, p. 301.

⁴⁵ “Plans of the past” (*qian you* 前猷) is a phrase describing the methods used by the kings of antiquity to govern their subjects. See *Songshu*, 5.89.

The emperor thus said, “Marvelous!”	帝曰懋哉
And he stopped at this [place].	爾焉斯止
[He] planned this and built this, ⁴⁷	經之營之
So stately, a thing of real beauty. ⁴⁸	輪乎奐矣
The deep echoes of this palace of victory, ⁴⁹	勝殿密響
Bring forth the fragrances of overflowing jugs. ⁵⁰	瀉瓶揚芬
The amazonite planks of this gemstone palace, ⁵¹	瑤宮碧簡
Embellished and enhanced with bequeathed texts. ⁵²	絢采垂文
Rose-gem cases [house] jade tesserae,	瓊函玉檢
[Hidden in] white damask curtains embroidered with fabric. ⁵³	綺幕繡巾

In his triumphant representation of Emperor Wu, Tao draws upon the ancient ritual function of monuments to justify the imperial assertion of unity and world order.⁵⁴ Thus, in addition to acknowledging the emperor’s role in funding and designing the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, Tao also recognizes the renewed relations the emperor fostered between him, his subjects, and the gods of Maoshan. The new sanctuary, writes Tao, was a physical manifestation of Emperor Wu’s mission to instruct and enlighten people throughout his land.

⁴⁶ “Great tracks” (*honggui* 洪軌) is a term first used by Han philosopher Xun Yue 荀悅 (148–209 CE) to describe the laws developed in antiquity to effective order a prosperous society. For more on this term, see appendix 2, p. 300.

⁴⁷ This first line of the couplet is a direct quote from a classical ode in which the subjects of the legendary King Wen arrive spontaneously to help the sovereign build an imperial park. *Shijing*, Mao 242 (SSJZS), 16d.4b [p. 579].

⁴⁸ This is a collapsed quote from a passage from the *Liji* 禮記 in which the prominent officials serving under Xian Wenzi 獻文子 stare in awe at a newly constructed palace building. One of the elders exclaimed that the building was stately and magnificent (*mei zai lun yan, mei zai huan yan* 美哉輪焉，美哉奐哉) (SSJZS, 10.23b [p. 197]).

⁴⁹ *Shengdian* 勝殿 (“palace of victory”) was used by early Buddhist writers to translate Indra’s palace, *Vaijayanta prāsāda* (“palace of victory”). By Tao’s day the term was often used to describe Chinese imperial palaces. For more on the etymology of this term, see appendix 2, p. 300.

⁵⁰ *Xie ping* 瀉瓶 (“overflowing jugs”) describes the greatness of a master’s teachings as metaphorically spilling out of a jug. For more on this term, see appendix 2, p. 300.

⁵¹ *Yaogong* 瑤宮 (“gemstone palace”) was a common description in the Liang dynasty for a lavish sanctuary. For more on synonyms of this term like “gemstone terrace” (*yaotai* 瑤臺), see appendix 2, p. 288.

⁵² *Chuiwen* 垂文 (“bequeathed texts”) refers to the finest texts surviving ancient writers. For a history of this term, see appendix 2, p. 301.

⁵³ *QLW*, 47.10a–b [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.11a [ZHDZ, 48.455b]; *JGT*, A4a [p. 621]; *SQZR*, 10a [p. 573]; *THJJZ*, 183.

⁵⁴ See especially the third century BCE stele monuments sponsored by Qin Shihuang in Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch’in Shih-huang*, 107–13, 124–25. For more on how religious information creates a symbolic order on behalf of imperial sponsors, see Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 85. Also Elsner’s analysis of how this symbolic order is mapped onto architectural compounds in “Constructing Decadence,” 112. For more on the representation of emperors in early medieval inscriptions, see Gatling, “A Dated Buddhist Stele,” 250; Fernald, “Stele of the Departure,” 171–73; Lu, “Cong zaoxiang mingji,” 102–07; Wong, *Chinese Steles*, 69; McNair, *Donors of Longmen*, 117.

Tao juxtaposes his own expertise as an editor and contractor who could serve as an auxiliary to the emperor by providing the requisite written texts and ritual compounds that would enable the emperor to achieve this goal.

The illustrious emperor took a great vow to come here [and act as] suzerain of this place. He fostered [relations with] all its divine residents by fashioning an array of metal vessels. He led others to the Practice and enlightened the common and fulfilled his destiny to “reveal the teachings.” [The emperor] has relied on the hidden recluse [Tao Hongjing] to gather the scriptures and revelations of the Three Perfected. Since [Tao] took shelter at Huayang for a long time it is only right that he return to this ancient abode. [Tao] has been sponsored to undertake the restoration [of this site] by ordering the carpenters to build a “hall of silence” to revere the gods and models of the Thearchs.⁵⁵ Through all [of these actions, the emperor and Tao] have made the Great Way known to all.⁵⁶

皇上乘弘誓本力，來君此土。燾育蒼祇，範鑄群品。導法開俗，隨緣啟教。以隱居積蘊三真經誥。久栖華陽，宜還舊宅。供養修理，乃敕工匠，建茲堂請，即仰蒼祇帝則。兼闡大猷。

While Tao details the events of the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, he maintains that his primary purpose in composing the “Xu Mi Stele” was in response to his new role as an auxiliary to the emperor’s educational mission. He mentions that his composition of this text was born out of a desire to describe the “traces of Perfection” (*zhen gui* 真軌). These traces included both the details of Xu’s hagiography and the history of construction at Leiping both before and after Xu built his temple in 366.

Soon thereafter came a distant auspice conferring that promising fortune lay in the Fire Calendar.⁵⁷ West of this lodge [the emperor]

⁵⁵ There is a variant in this passage in which *qing* 請 is also read *gou* 構. I have chosen the former as it is likely a graphic variant for *jing*, as in *jingshe* (“quiescent dwelling”).

⁵⁶ *QLW*, 47.9b [p. 3222]; *DZ* 304, 20.10a [*ZHDZ*, 48.455a]; *JGT*, A1.3a–b [p. 621]; *SQZR*, 7b [p. 572]; *THJJZ*, 179.

⁵⁷ The fire calendar (*huoli* 火曆) refers to the astro-calendrical calculation of fire as the corresponding symbol of the five phases (*wuxing* 五行) for the Liang house. The association of a dynasty with fire was the result of a celestial portent involving the “fire star” [i.e., Mars]. See Mansvelt-Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han*, 135, 143; Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy*, 59. For more on the correlation of five phases symbol and dynastic reigns in early medieval China, see Bokenkamp, “Time after Time,” 62; Xiao Ji’s 蕭吉 (d. 614) treatise on the subject in his *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義 (*CSJC*), 5.94–95; Kalinowski, *Cosmologie et divination*, 389–96.

built a hidden residence [for me].⁵⁸ In the fourteenth year [January 31, 515–February 17, 516], [I] separately built a fasting room at Yugang Peak where I now search the traces of the Dark Continent. In the seventeenth year [January 27, 518–February 14, 519], [I now] erect a stele at this altar to reverently describe the traces of Perfection.⁵⁹

將遠符先徵，定祥火曆。於館西更築隱居。住止十四年，別創鬱岡齋室，追玄洲之蹤。十七年乃繕勒碑壇，仰述真軌。

At the end of the “Xu Mi Stele,” Tao writes that readers might experience a profound spiritual transformation at Leiping Peak. This compound (and the written texts housed therein) could awake the minds of readers and lead them to attain a godlike state of consciousness. Tao writes that the completion of the lodge has the power to “cleanse” (*qing* 清) the minds of onlookers and could lead them to enlightenment, a “true awakening” (*zhengjue* 正覺). The emperor and Tao jointly produced a marvel that enabled humans to acquire superhuman powers and fly throughout the cosmos, attaining an unprecedented level of wisdom in the process.

To take a flying course so sudden and swift, ⁶⁰	飛行歎恍
Brushing past phosphors and around rainbows.	捫景帶虹
And shakes off suffering and dispenses with obstructions,	振苦排鄣
To bring back illumination and restoring sapience.	還明返聰

Tao’s sensational account of the emperor’s visit to the Leiping sanctuary is by no means a straightforward description of the events of 518. But while Tao’s hyperbolic and obsequious language certainly tells us little about the appearance of his new sanctuary, it is an invaluable source regarding how Tao conceived of these events. Tao frames the imperial sponsorship of this building as an event that was potentially the apotheosis of the emperor’s

⁵⁸ Usually Tao’s uses the term Yinju 隱居 [hidden resident; recluse] as his style, but since this term follows the active verb “to build” (*zhu* 築) it seems like Tao is using the word as “hidden residence.” Either way Tao claims that he lived nearby Xu Mi’s hermitage for one year prior to moving northeastward to his present residence on Yugang Peak.

⁵⁹ *QLW*, 47.8b [p. 3221]; *DZ* 304, 20.7b–8a [*ZHDZ*, 48.454b]; *JGT*, A1b [p. 620]; *SQZR*, 2b–3a [pp. 569–70]; *THJJZ*, 172.

⁶⁰ I can find no other use of *xuhuang* 歎恍, but it is likely a cognate to words like *xuxi* 歎吸 (“swiftly”), *xuhu* 歎忽, and *xuran* 歎然 (“instantly”) (*DKW*, 6.6128c). This line implies that visiting Tao’s new lodge creates a sensation in the minds of onlookers that they have attained superhuman powers, and can travel to the distant reaches of the universe.

spiritual life. The “Xu Mi Stele” thus commemorates not simply the completion of a building but also the culmination of Emperor Wu’s reign, which ushered in a new era of harmony and prosperity on earth. Tao subtly stresses his own role in these events. He serves in an auxiliary role to the emperor, yet his contributions to the project—excavator, builder, and ritual expert—were vital to its success. Tao thus justifies his clerical presence on the mountain by depicting himself as the servant of the emperor.

(5.2) The Re-inscription of Xu Mi’s Temple

In the second part of this chapter, I examine the redevelopment of Tao’s Scarlet Solarity Lodge, as seen in later monuments erected at the site, as well as official documents concerning the site. I argue that writings about (and by extension knowledge of) the Leiping temple compounds developed over time in an accretive fashion. Despite the fact that later writers adapted and even reproduced Tao’s written representation of Maoshan verbatim, these later writers were not preserving the past but adapting historical texts to reclaim their authority over the site. These three phases of the ongoing development of the ancient site of Xu’s temple work toward an understanding of the accretive nature of knowledge production about sacred sites in medieval China. It also illuminates how different written representations of a single site, which were composed over the course of many centuries, worked to reiterate clerical involvement in the development of sacred sites. Xu Mi’s temple, I conclude, became increasingly entrenched in medieval society as a symbol for the clerics who sought lucrative sponsorships from royal and aristocratic sponsors.

(5.2.1) *Reiterate*

Whereas many of Tao's earlier treatises on Yang Xi's revelations, Daoist ritual, and pharmacology have been studied extensively, very little has been written about his later writings, especially the decade after he composed *Record* and "Xu Mi Stele." From later biographies we can surmise that Tao continued his work excavating and reconstructing at ancient sites on the mountain. Within a couple of years of finishing construction on the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, for instance, Tao found broken tiles and pots while construction of a pharmacy (*yaowu* 藥屋) east of his new temple, and he identified these artifacts as once belonging to the Qin dynasty adept Li Ming 李明.⁶¹ While we do not have any texts from Tao's hands about these events, such evidence suggests that Tao continued to expand new buildings at the lodge at Leiping Peak.

In 522 CE, four years after he completed the imperial sanctuary at the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, Tao wrote a second inscription that was engraved on the reverse side of the monument. Unlike his 518 text, in which Tao commemorated the emperor's contributions to the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, the reverse inscription focuses solely on Tao's own achievements in developing Maoshan. Tao begins with an autobiographical passage highlighting his accomplishments as Maoshan's abbot. Tao describes his early residences at Maoshan, like the Floriate Solarity Lodge and the eastern brook of Jijin, as well as his self-imposed exile to the isles off the east coast of China. Tao writes that he was ordered to return to Maoshan in late October or early November of 513, and a year later was ordered to develop the site of Xu's ancient residence.

He served as a reader-in-waiting for a variety of princes under Emperors Gao (r. 479–83) and Wu (r. 483–94), and as audience attendant. In the tenth year of the *yongming* reign, a *renshen* year [492], Tao gave up his

⁶¹ DZ 300, 2.11b–12a [ZHDZ, 46.219a]. Tao first made the connection between this site near Leiping and Li Ming in *Declarations*. See DZ 1016, 13.17b [SKKK, 498].

official ribbons to perch in the mountains. Atop Middle Mao Peak, he built the Floriate Solarity Lodge.⁶² In the fourth year of the *tianjian* reign [505], he moved to the eastern brook of Jijin. In the seventh year [508], he headed for the Qingzhang mountains near the Nan River in Yongjia.⁶³ In the tenth year [511], he crossed the seas to Huoshan. In the summer of the eleventh year [512], he returned to the Muliu Isles. In the tenth [lunar] month of that year [October 26–November 23], he was ordered to return to his old mountain [home at Maoshan]. In the first [lunar] month of the thirteenth year [February 10–March 11, 514], he arrived at Maoshan and took up residence on the eastern brook. In the winter of the fourteenth year [515], he moved to this lodge. In the following year [516], he moved into the silent fasting chamber of his Yugang Retreat.⁶⁴

仕齊高武世諸王侍讀，奉朝請。永明十年壬申歲，投紱棲山。住中茅嶺上，立為華陽館。至梁天監四年，移居積金東澗。七年，往永嘉楠江青嶂山。十年，涉海詣霍山。十一年夏，還木溜嶼。其年十月，奉劫迎還舊山。十三年正月，至茅山，入住東澗。十四年冬，徙來此館。十五年，移鬱岡齋室靜齋。

After this autobiographical passage Tao lists twenty-eight of his most prominent disciples and clients.⁶⁵ Tao identifies eight individuals as “Shangqing disciples” (*Shangqing dizi* 上清弟子) and “lords of lodges” (*guanzhu* 館主), the latter term suggesting that these subordinates were leaders of their own institutions. All of these individuals had once served Tao as disciples and had gone on to secure sponsorship for the construction of their own lodges. Some, like Lu Yichong 陸逸冲 and Yang Chaoyuan 楊超遠, had been Tao’s disciples in earlier periods; others, like Pan Yuanwen 潘淵文 and Ding Jingda 丁景達, were disciples who worked more closely with Tao during the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge.⁶⁶ Still others, like Pan Hong 潘洪 and Chu Zhongyan 褚仲儼, were prominent leaders of Daoist institutions elsewhere in southeast China.⁶⁷

⁶² The Floriate Solarity Lodge (*Huayang guan* 華陽館), Tao’s first home in central Maoshan, should be distinguished from the Floriate Solarity Observatory (*Huayang guan* 華陽觀), a seventh century name for Xu Mi’s temple (see below).

⁶³ This refers to Tao’s self-imposed exile when he fled from Maoshan, purportedly to look for better medicinal ingredients. Yongjia is in southeastern Zhejiang province. See Tao’s “Deng Yongjia luzhang shan” 登永嘉綠嶂山 that he wrote while in Yongjia.

⁶⁴ *DZ* 304, 20.11b–12a [*ZHDZ*, 48.455c]; *JGT*, A5a [p. 622]; *THJJZ*, 186.

⁶⁵ For a previous translation of this part of the stele, see Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 472–74.

⁶⁶ For more of these disciples and colleagues, see appendix 2, pp. 303–05.

⁶⁷ For more on Pan Hong and Chu Zhongyan, see appendix 2, p. 305.

Tao next lists twenty names of imperial and aristocratic sponsors who had supported his Maoshan enterprise.⁶⁸ Tao places these names in rough chronological order according to the times they were alleged to have supported his Maoshan temple. Unlike his emphasis on Emperor Wu's role in the construction at Leiping Peak on the obverse, the names listed on the reverse of the stele bolster Tao's high connections and prestige. Tao first features the imperial family of the Qi dynasty and then continues with the prominent officials and members of the royal family of the Liang dynasty. The rough chronological sequence of these sponsors has the rhetorical effect of underscoring Tao's continual presence on the mountain.

The exposition of both his disciples and sponsors serves to acknowledge the supporting cast that made his rise as Maoshan's principal developer a reality. Tao's juxtaposition of the accounts of Xu Mi's residence on the obverse with his own exploits further suggests that the two sides of the monument memorialize the rightful heirs of Xu's temple. In Tao's mind, it was the clerics who deserved credit for discovering and preserving these traces of antiquity. On the reverse of the "Xu Mi Stele," Tao intensifies the role he played in the construction of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, a role that he shared with the emperor on the obverse inscription written four years earlier.

Tao's other writings from this same period similarly replicate the idea that Tao understood clerical developers as individuals in charge of the production of sacred sites. The year after he composed the reverse inscription for the "Xu Mi Stele," Tao composed another inscription engraved on a stele monument at Simingshan 四明山 for the newly built Calling the Perfected Lodge (*Zhaozhen guan* 招真館).⁶⁹ This lodge, which was over three hundred

⁶⁸ Miranda Brown has recently demonstrated that lists of donors in late Han inscriptions typically represented horizontal rather than hierarchical social relationships (*The Politics of Mourning in Early China*, 94–96, 125). This suggests that perhaps Tao bolsters his aristocratic pedigree rather than currying favors from rich sponsors.

⁶⁹ "Wu taiji zuo xiangong Ge gong zhi bei" 吳太極左仙公葛公之碑 [A stele for left transcendent Duke of Taiji, Ge Xuan, of Wu]. *THJJZ*, 158–70. Various dates have been proposed for this text. Tao writes about a meeting between the abbot of the lodge, Pan Hong, and local leaders as taking place in 508. Tao mentions that thirteen years had passed since this initial meeting resulting in 523 CE as a *terminus a quo* for this

kilometers southeast of Maoshan, was managed by one of Tao's disciples and close associates, Pan Hong. The format of this inscription closely follows his "Xu Mi Stele," as Tao first writes a hagiography of Ge Xuan 葛玄 (164–244 CE), the saint who formerly resided on the site where Pan built his lodge.⁷⁰ Tao juxtaposes Ge's story with an account of how Pan and sponsors at Simingshan constructed a temple compound to honor the life of Ge Xuan. Tao represents Pan as a model cleric who teaches others about the "remaining traces" (*yizong* 遺蹤) of antiquity. While Tao's representation of the construction of the temple at Simingshan falls beyond the scope of this chapter, its resonance with regard to his depiction of the saints and developers demonstrates a marked increase in the veneration of the clerical developers who led new communities of followers at these ancient sites.

In addition to Tao's inscriptions, there are also a handful of other extant inscriptions that later writers composed for monuments erected before Tao's Scarlet Solarity Lodge. Nearly two decades after Tao composed the "Xu Mi Stele," for instance, the royal prince Xiao Lun 蕭綸 (507–51 CE) wrote an elegy inscribed upon a stele that was erected in front of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge. Titled "Yinju zhenbo xiansheng Taojun bei" 隱居貞白先生陶君碑 [Stele for Lord Tao, Recluse and Zhenbo Master], Xiao writes about how the success of Tao's abbotship at Maoshan was reflected in the increasing complexity of the architectural compounds he designed. When Tao first moved to the mountain, writes Xiao, he lived in a crudely built shanty shrouded amidst Maoshan's otherworldly peaks.

[Tao] rested on cliffs perched in seclusion, and dwelled in groves while searching for [holy] traces. He tied tree branches for his eaves, and cut out a pathway for his door. [His home] hung over cliffs and faced spouts of water, as plaintive cries [filled] the thicket.⁷¹ [He lived]

text. Simingshan in present-day southwest Yin 鄞 and south Yuyao 餘姚 counties, Zhejiang province (ZGGJ, 200–1).

⁷⁰ Tao's reconstruction of Ge's accomplishments and status as a god were mostly, if not exclusively, drawn from Yang Xi's revelations. Bokenkamp, "Daoist Pantheons," 1177–80; Maeda, *Shoki Dōkyō*, 417.

⁷¹ "Thicket" (*huan mu* 灌木) is a term first used in the ode "Ge tan" 葛覃 [The cloth-plant spreads] from the *Shijing* (Mao 2; Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 6). In the ancient ode, the dense grove of trees is used as a

in a deep gully surrounded by steep slopes, that was overlaid by mist and auroras.⁷²

倚巖栖隱，依林遁跡。交柯結宇，剗徑為門。懸崖對溜，悲吟灌木。深壑絕峭，組織煙霞。

For Xiao, the turning point in Tao's career came in 512, when he summoned by Emperor Wu to build a lodge near Leiping Peak. Xiao correlates Tao's move to the site with a spiritual transformation that made Tao more focused and determined in his religious vocation. Xiao also represents Tao's newfound success by stressing the orderly appearance of his compound, which Xiao compares to the halls of Confucius. Xiao claims that numerous visitors and sponsors to Tao's compound commemorated the master by funding monuments in Tao's honor.

In the eleventh year (512) there came an edict [calling Tao back to Maoshan] . . . He strengthened his resolve on a mountain buttress, and passed many a year on this very spot. He drew himself closer to goodness, as the tenebrous auspice was revealed to him.⁷³ The fiercest beasts could not overcome him, hobgoblins dared not make his acquaintance. No thistles or thorns grew in his courtyard, while far away, it almost seemed like Queli.⁷⁴ From the stairs divine fonts spouted, and the paths of this place were inscribed everywhere.⁷⁵

一十年有敕.....養志山阿，多歷年所。攝生既善，冥祥亦降。猛獸不據，魑魅莫逢。庭無荊棘，遠同闕里。階吐神泉，逕動疏勒。

Xiao further stresses that Tao's crowning achievement at Maoshan was his refashioning of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge into a preminent Buddhist monastery.

Winged beings flitted to and fro; transcendent guests ascended and descended. Fabulous birds alighted here; [magical] fungi blossomed everywhere. He cast a gigantic Buddha statue; he copied many scriptures. He built a stupa and recruited [Buddhist] monks; He sought out donations

synecdoche for a fecund valley. Here, however, Xiao uses the term to stress the undeveloped and remote qualities of Tao's residence.

⁷² *QLW*, 22.13b [p. 3082]; *YWLJ*, 37.659. The *YWLJ* has the variant *wei* 危 for *jue* 絕.

⁷³ "Tenebrous auspice" translates *mingxiang* 冥祥, a term related to words like *mingzhao* 冥兆 (*DKW*, 2.132a–b) and *mingyou* 冥祐 (*DKW*, 2.130d). All of these words were coined in the early medieval era, and refer to the revelation of divine images, words, and texts that might provide heavenly assistance to human society. Here Xiao suggests that Tao's move to Leiping Peak coincided with the conferral of great blessings, both material and spiritual.

⁷⁴ For more on Queli as the home of Confucius, see chapter 3, p. 130.

⁷⁵ *QLW*, 22.13b [p. 3082]

to support them. He made a pledge at these ritual grounds; and upheld the bodhisattva precepts.”⁷⁶

羽人徘徊，仙客上下。鸞鳳游集，芝英豐潤。大造佛像，爰及寫經。
起塔招僧，備諸供養。自誓道場，受菩薩法。

Xiao's depiction of Tao's Scarlet Solarity Lodge, written nearly two decades after Tao's representation of the site in the "Xu Mi Stele," illustrates how Tao's assertion of the clerical authority over Leiping Peak was a concept shared by his readers. Both Xiao and Tao understand that the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, as Tao's construction, was not merely a symbol of his material success but of his clerical status. Both writers also conceive of his presence on the mountain as pleasing the gods charged with protecting Maoshan. In all three of the extant inscriptions (the obverse and reverse of the "Xu Mi Stele" and Xiao Lun's commemorative eulogy), the authors describe the building of the lodge as an event marking the culmination of Tao's spiritual progress. These representations of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge focus more on Tao's reclamation of the site as opposed to commemorating Yang Xi's revelations. Both Tao and Xiao represent the architectural details of the lodge as encompassing both Buddhist and Daoist teachings, but the underlying function of these details is not a simple description of what existed at the site. Rather, these details are physical manifestations of the imagination of Tao Hongjing, who rebuilt on the Xu's ancient residence into a massive religious enterprise.

⁷⁶ *QLW*, 22.13b–14a [p. 3082]; *WYYH*, 873.2095a.

(5.2.2) *Rebuild*

Little is known about life at the Scarlet Solarity Lodge after Tao's death. The compound was still in use as a center of study and Daoist rites until the mid-sixth century.⁷⁷ Upon the fall of the Liang dynasty in 557, however, there are no extant records indicating how the compound was used, if at all, in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. We know that one of Tao's successors, Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知 (528–635 CE), took charge of the lodge, but we only know scant details of Wang's abbotship from the writings of his students, like Pan Shizheng 潘師正 (582–682 CE).⁷⁸ Xu Mi's temple was once again thrust into the spotlight during the reign of Emperor Taizong (Li Shimin 李世民, r. 626–649 CE) when the Tang dynasty emperor funded the creation of a new Daoist institution on the mountain under the direction of cleric Wang Gui 王軌. Wang convinced the emperor to allocate funds to build a temple compound on the site of Xu's residence (and Tao's Scarlet Solarity Lodge); Wang named the cluster of building the Floriate Solarity Observatory (*Huayang guan* 華陽觀).⁷⁹

The only extant evidence of this seventh-century construction at Leiping Peak is a commemorative stele inscription written posthumously by Wang's relative and fellow cleric Wang Xuanzong 王玄宗 (fl. 667).⁸⁰ Wang depicts the emperor's decision to build the

⁷⁷ Hagiographer Ma Shu 馬樞 (522–81 CE), for instance, notes the presence of the lodge when he retired to Maoshan in 548 to compile religious texts on behalf of his patron Xiao Lun. Bumbacher, "On Pre-Tang," 146.

⁷⁸ Since Wang's students moved to Songshan, a mountain northwest of Maoshan and closer to the new capital, Chang'an, we know little about the state of affairs at Maoshan at the turn of the seventh century.

⁷⁹ *DZ* 304, 17.2a–3a [*ZHDZ*, 48.445b]. The Floriate Solarity Observatory is also the name attached to the spot where Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501–31), the crown prince of Liang, operated a lodge during Tao's day. *DZ* 304, 17.4a [*ZHDZ*, 48.446c]. This attribution, however, is likely a later conflation since the site is also known as the Vast Blessings Courtyard (*hongxi yuan* 鴻禧院) and the Fortune County Lodge (*fuixiang guan* 福鄉館). The last name is the most probable name for Xiao's residence since observatory (*guan* 觀) is a rare term for such an institution in the early sixth century.

⁸⁰ *DZ* 304, 22.11b–19a [*ZHDZ*, 48.464b–67a]. Wang Xuanzong, or Master of Great Peace 太平, was a contemporary Daoist master a resident of Songshan and brother of famous official Wang Shaozong 王紹宗.

Floriata Solarity Observatory as occurring after Taizong once entered into a meditative trance.⁸¹ While in this altered state of consciousness, writes Wang, Taizong embarked on a cosmic voyage far west of China to Kongshan 崆山, and the gods residing in Laixiang 瀨鄉 (“Sandbar Village”) enjoined the emperor to rebuild at Maoshan.⁸² The Daoist deities instructed the emperor to locate the “ruined foundation” (*yizhi* 遺址) that once housed Xu and Tao and to build a new temple compound. Taizong responded to this celestial directive by sending the cleric Wang Gui to Maoshan to undertake the project on his behalf.

Before he had completed his Dao [the emperor] encountered the cross winds [leading to] Kongshan; there he respectfully [undertook] a subtle directive from Sandbar County. At that time the dharma ruler inherited the Catalpa Marsh and expressed his determination [concerning] the Willow Flow.⁸³ Thereafter he sent the ritual master [Wang] to go ahead and renovate and restore the ruined foundation [once housing] Xu and Tao. This observatory was Scarlet Solarity [Lodge], [the place] Emperor Wu of Liang built at the old hermitage of the perfected being Xu [Mi] to house Tao Yinju [i.e., Hongjing]. After the august bright [emperor] put this plan in motion, Huayang [Grotto] attracted much attention.⁸⁴

然隨迎之道未臻，遇崆山之順風；仰瀨鄉之微旨。于時法主尚承思梓澤，夫果言之柳沃。故遣法師，先以還修茸許陶遺址。此觀，梁武皇帝於許真人舊宅為陶隱居建立，號曰朱陽。皇明啟運，更以華陽為目。

Wang Xuanzong and Wang Gui’s familial relations are unknown, but both Wangs trace their familial lineage to Linyi 臨沂 in southern Shandong province.

⁸¹ Taizong’s divine inspiration to rebuild Xu’s temple is similar to other representations of temple construction in the early seventh century. Ling Yu 靈裕 (518–605 CE), for example, recorded blueprints of Buddhist monasteries in his *Shengji ji* 聖跡記 and *Sigao* 寺誥; both texts were written as divine revelations. *T* 2060, 50.495c–98a; Makita, “Hōzan ji Reiyū ni tsuite”; Tan, “Daoxuan’s Vision of Jetavana,” 173, 250; Tokiwa, *Shina Bukkyō*, pl.143. Daoxuan, a contemporary of Wang, wrote a blueprint of the Jetavana Monastery in his *Zhong tianzhu shewei guo qiyuan si tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經 [Illustrated scripture of Jetavana monastery in the Śrāvastī kingdom in central India] that was also a revealed text. *T* 1899, 45.883a, 890a–b; Tan, “Daoxuan’s Vision of Jetavana,” 241, 307–08.

⁸² Wang’s representation of the mystical voyages was modeled on popular hagiographies about saints in the Shangqing pantheon. In *Traditions of Lord Pei*, Pei Xuanren likewise traveled to the top of Kongshan by way of *shazhou* 沙洲 (“sandy continent”) where he sought divine direction. *DZ* 1032, 105.9a–b [*YJQQ*, 2270].

⁸³ Catalpa Marsh (*zize* 梓澤) was an alternative name for Shi Chong’s 石崇 (249–300 CE) garden, the Golden Valley Garden (*Jingu yuan* 金谷園) in present-day Meng 孟 county, Henan. See *Jinshu*, 33.1006. For more on the identification of *zi* 梓 as *catalpa bungei*, see Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 98–99. Willow Flow (*liu wu* 柳沃) refers to waters flowing down the mountainside at Willow Vale (MAP 5, F-4) and collecting in the present-day People’s Army Reservoir (*minbing shuiku* 民兵水庫). See Schafer, *Mao Shan in T’ang Times*, 17. *Wo* 沃, which in later times often referred to irrigation channels of running water, was a technical term in ancient China describing water falling from mountainside springs. See *Erya* (SSJZS), 7.19a [p. 119]; *Shiming shuzheng bu*, 1.32b; *DKW*, 6.690c.

⁸⁴ *DZ* 304, 22.15b [*ZHDZ*, 48.465c].

Upon arriving at Leiping Peak, Wang Gui discovered the foundation of the Leiping sanctuary leveled (*yiman* 夷漫) and fallen into ruin (*lunwu* 淪蕪). Wang Gui cleared the site and led a team of workers to construct a large sanctuary at the center of the compound surrounded by a lecture hall, meditation chamber, dormitory, and a series of gated verandas. Wang Xuanzong writes about the immense height of the compound and stresses that the verticality of its tall towers gave the structure an otherworldly feel. Wang also uses allusions of two ancient temples to describe the fine lumber that glistened high in the upper rafters of this monumental structure. The impressive appearance of the buildings was matched by an equally ornate interior.

The ancient foundation was leveled, and all traces left [from antiquity] were grown over. Master [Wang Gui] cleared out a courtyard and drew up plans for a tall structure. He respectfully built the main basilica three bays [long and flanked] two side halls. There was also a lecture hall, a platform of silence [i.e., meditation chamber], a dormitory, doors, and corridors. The cassia ridgepoles flew into the smoky boulevards [of heaven] where they grew dark among the layers of clouds.⁸⁵ Apricot beams built [up] to the roads of the empyrean where they glistened against the auroras stretching [to the horizons]⁸⁶ . . . Inside the inner basilica was a statue of the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Commencement that was eight *chi* tall and flanked by [statues] of Perfected Beings. Their divine demeanor was solemn and serene, and their marks of divinity were “faint and ethereal.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Guidong* 桂棟 (“cassia ridgepoles”) reads *guilian* 桂棟 in the *Maoshan zhi*. The latter reading—*lian* means *Melia azedarach* (chinaberry, Persian lilac)—is not implausible since chinaberry was used as timber. See Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 261–62; Read, *Chinese Medicinal Plants*, 98n335; Li, *Nan-fang ts’ao-mu chuang*, 96–98. Since this binome is parallel to “apricot beams” in the following line, however, I have emended this character to *dong* 棟 (“ridgepole”). The *locus classicus* for *guidong* is the “Xiang furen” 湘夫人 [Lady of Xiang], an ode in the ancient *Chuci* anthology. There the poet describes his efforts to build a dwelling for a water goddess as follows: “I am going to build her a house within the water; Roofed all over with lotus leaves . . . With ridgepoles of cassia, orchid rafters; Lily-tree lintel, a bower of peonies . . . A thousand sweet flowers shall fill the courtyard.” 築室兮水中，葺之兮荷蓋。……桂棟兮蘭橈，辛夷楣兮葍房。……合百草兮實庭 Translation based on Hawkes, *The Songs of the South*, 108–09.

⁸⁶ Ying Shao first used the phrase *meiliang* 梅梁 (“apricot beams”) in his *Fengsu tongyi* to describe the large beams at the temple dedicated to the ancient King Yu in present-day Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang. *TPYL*, 970.2b [p. 4431]. According to the Tang poet Xu Hao 徐浩 (703–82 CE), who wrote the poem “Ye Yu miao” 謁禹廟 [Visiting the temple of Yu], these beams still existed in the mid-eighth century. See *Quan Tangshi*, 215.2247.

⁸⁷ *DZ* 304, 22.16a–b [ZHDZ, 48.466a]. *Xi wei* 希微 (“faint and ethereal”) are two terms in the *Daode jing* (verse 14) that along with *yi* 夷 (“indistinct”) describe the ineffable characteristics of the Dao. Since Wang Xuanzong writes that the Dao is both formless and immaterial, his choice to describe these statues as *xi wei* expresses the paradox that Wang Gui successfully gave form to something that was formless.

舊基夷漫，餘迹淪蕪。先生更前棘開場，肇茲崇構。敬造正殿，三間兩廡。并及講堂，壇靖，房宇，門廊。飛桂棟於烟衢，則黯然雲布。架梅梁於霄路，則赫爾霞舒……又於內殿奉造元始天尊像一軀，光趺八尺，左右真人夾侍。神儀肅穆，法相希微。

Wang Xuanzong asserts that, upon building his new temple, Wang Gui's primary responsibility was to establish an extensive collection of the scriptures written by Yang Xi, as well as esoteric manuscripts belonging to the Lingbao and Sanhuang textual traditions. By emphasizing Wang Gui's exegetical skills, Wang Xuanzong indicates that the clerical presence at Leiping, as during Tao's day, served as a preeminent center for learning about Daoist written texts. Wang Xuanzong further asserts that this scholastic enterprise was directly related to Wang Gui's architectural skills—Wang Gui worked as a contractor and employed skilled craftsmen to construct a compound in order to build as a citadel that would guard the country's finest library of Daoist scriptures.

The ritual master went out to the blessed lands of famous mountains where he happened upon Perfected scriptures through revelation. At the end of his life [Wang] lived at the Floriate Solarity [Observatory] where he transcribed the venerated law of Shangqing as well as the secret treasures and talismanic maps of the Dongxuan and Dongshen. He fully followed the model of Zhong Wei, and exhausted the skills of [his] craftsmen to seal up the quiescent chamber and permanently guard the mountain gate.⁸⁸

法師往於名山福地，感遇真經。晚居華陽，又摹寫上清尊法、洞玄洞神符圖秘寶。並竭鐘魏之模楷，盡班倕之剡削，緘封靜室，永鎮山門。

Wang Xuanzong also writes that Wang Gui's efforts in building the Floriate Solarity Observatory had direct bearing on his postmortem fate. On the dawn on November 21, 667, a

⁸⁸ *DZ* 304, 22.16b–17a [*ZHDZ*, 48.466a–b]. I have been unable to locate an identity for Zhong Wei 鍾魏. It is possible that this should be read “Zhong of Wei,” and refers to the calligraphy of Zhong Yao 鍾繇 (151–230 CE), who lived during the Wei dynasty. De Crespigny, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 1134–35. The reference to Zhong is possible given Tao Hongjing's admiration of Zhong's calligraphy. See his (“Guan Zhong You shufa shier yi” 觀鍾繇書法十二意 [Twelve ideas on looking at the calligraphy of Zhong You]. *THJJJZ*, 68; Liu, *Zhongguo shufa shi*, 330–33; Huang, *Lidai shufa lunwen*, 77–83; Mugitani, *Tō Kōkei nenpu kōryaku* [2],” 62–63. If this reading is correct, the first half of the sentence would refer to the design of Wang's scriptures, or even the style of the paintings around the newly built observatory. The exact meaning requires further study.

disciple informed Wang Gui about a dream in which Maoshan's deities appointed his master as an otherworldly official. Wang told his disciples that he had foreseen these events as a young man while living at Tongwushan. Eight days later, Wang died, and later sources indicate that Wang was buried to the right of Tao Hongjing's grave.⁸⁹

He spent his whole life preaching and transmitting [the teachings]. All the donations other gave him were used for meritorious [cause] like saving the poor. On the new moon of the eleventh lunar month, a *dingji* month, in the second year of the *qianfeng* reign, a *dingmao* year [November 21, 667], [Wang] finished his morning ritual when one of his appointed disciples said, "Last night before dawn three people came to me when I was in a dream-like trance. They were [dressed] in fine-feathered clothing and held tablets and tallies in their hands. They entered into my room and told me that the Celestial Palace of the Huayang [Grotto] had been evaluating [human] talents and determined that my master should be made a master over ten thousand transcendent beings, and an official who would be in charge of inspecting the affairs of [various] departments." Since the virtues of the ritual master [Wang] were so great, it was fitting that he take this post.⁹⁰

平生齋講傳授。所有信施，並入功德，賙救貧無。乾封二年，歲在丁卯，十一月丁巳朔，旦朝禮畢，迺顧命門人曰：「吾昨五更，彷彿夢中，見有三人。羽衣嚴整，手執簡策。進於房內，告云華陽天宮，素已品藻，用師為神仙萬人主者，兼知校領省官。」且法師才德清高，宜居此任。

Wang Gui's burial next to Tao Hongjing is perhaps the most striking image in Wang Xuanzong's inscription of the similarities perceived between the mid-seventh-century master and his early sixth-century counterpart. The parallels that Wang Xuanzong draws between Tao and Wang elsewhere in this inscription are unmistakable. The emperor commissioned Wang Gui to search out and restore the foundation of Tao's Scarlet Solairty Lodge. Upon rebuilding at Leiping Peak, Wang received imperial support to collate the finest collection of Daoist scriptures, an act perceived as reestablishing communication between Maoshan's clerics and the spirits beneath the mountain. By the 680s, at least three stele monuments stood before the ancient site of Xu's temple. These texts show an increasing interest in the

⁸⁹ This story is recorded separately in his hagiographic vignette in *DZ* 304, 15.10a [*ZHDZ*, 48.440a].

⁹⁰ *DZ* 304, 22.17a [*ZHDZ*, 48.466b].

representing the significance of the clerics who discovered and rebuilt these sites. By the late seventh century, the temple compound beneath Leiping Peak had become remembered less as the birthplace of Yang Xi's revelations and much more for the eminent clerics who moved to this site at the culmination of their professional and religious careers. Consequently, the rebuilding of Maoshan grew as a potent symbol not of the founders of the site [i.e., Yang Xi and Xu Mi] but of the clerics who rose to great prominence by redeveloping it.

(5.2.3) *Reproduce*

In 748, over a century after Wang Gui finished construction of the Floriate Solarity Observatory, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (Li Longji 李隆基, r. 712–756 CE) ordered the cleric Li Hanguang 李含光 (683–769 CE) to build a temple compound at Leiping Peak. Called the Purple Solarity Observatory (*Ziyang guan* 紫陽觀), Li Hanguang's compound was the culmination of nearly two decades of Daoist temple construction sponsored by the emperor.⁹¹ We can analyze the progress of Li's construction with the help of the monthly memorials (*biaozou* 表奏) that Li submitted to the emperor. In a memorial written on June 20, 748, for example, Li writes about a patch of eighty-one stalks of magical herbs (*zhicao* 芝草) that suddenly sprang up to the east of the foundation of Li's Purple Solarity Observatory at a site Li identifies as the place where Tao Hongjing once compounded elixirs. Li describes the grasses as ring-shaped with glowing flowers and turquoise stalks, and he claims that these

⁹¹ As early as 725, the emperor visited the old homestead of Laozi 老子, and ordered the *Daodejing* to be inscribed on tablets at the temple. By 730, Xuanzong funded the construction of temples and clay statues of transcendent beings (*xian* 仙) at holy sites where apparitions and auspicious relics had been reported. Three years later in 733, the emperor required that candidates for the civil service examination answer questions about the contents of *Daodejing*. Benn, "Taosim as Ideology," 125.

holy objects (*shenwu* 神物) were auspicious signs signaling the divine approval for his

building project, and by extension divine approval of the imperial house:

To the east of the Purple Solarity Observatory I saw eighty-one stalks of herbs that suddenly appeared in the spot where Tao Yinju [i.e., Hongjing] once compounded alchemical elixirs.⁹² The [herbs] were shaped like jade rings and shone resplendently. They took root atop a pine-rock and there was *qi* emanating all around it.⁹³ These kinds of fruit rarely appear in any age, and are unlikely to be found elsewhere. I humbly submit that the emperor has expressed unending respect and hope for the Purple Solarity [Observatory] through constructing and renovating [the compound].⁹⁴ This is why these divine things have appeared and have been construed as auspicious signs. And may all come to know and be overjoyed about [these herbs] that have responded to [your] sagely virtues. I cannot express how excited I am about [these events] and have sent Yang Shenshe to announce this to you. I have also drawn a picture of the curvy stalks, and can explain it in more detail at a later date when I send another messenger.⁹⁵

竊見紫陽觀東，隱居先生奮合丹所忽生芝草八十一莖。形狀環奇，光采秀麗。根憑松石，氣鬱蘭荃。斯實曠代希有，當今罕見。伏惟陛下推誠洞府，展敬無虧，睠言紫陽，載興修葺。是以神物繁植，用表吉祥。凡與知聞，會云聖德所感，莫不喜悅。臣不勝欣躍之至，謹遣楊慎奢先奉表以聞，今圖寫芝形委曲，詳辨事畢之日，別差使上聞。

Despite the fact that these magical herbs appeared at a site once used by Tao Hongjing, Li emphasizes that this contemporary miracle is a sign of the emperor's superior virtues, not a historical curiosity. Li identifies the emperor's unending support for this rebuilding of Xu's residence as the reason for the appearance of the herbs.⁹⁶ News of the emperor's lavish sponsorship of the site, writes Li, had spread throughout the land in the

⁹² Eighty-one is the number of stanzas in the *Daode jing*. The Tang royal house stressed their putative familial relations with Laozi, the author the *Daode jing*. The reappearance of these stalks furnished corroborative evidence that Laozi's progeny now controlled China.

⁹³ Pine-rock (*songshi* 松石) can simply mean pine trees growing stop rocks or rocky cliffs (*DKW* 6.211d), but this was also a term for copper-colored jade considered to be fossilized pine trees from high antiquity. It is unclear from this context which meaning is the intended one.

⁹⁴ The phrase *juanyan* 睠言 appears in the ancient ode "Dadong" 大東 [The greater east] where the poet expresses his longing for the ways of the ancient Zhou kingdom and hopes that the idyllic past might come alive again. See Mao 203 (*SSJZS*), 13a.7a [p. 438].

⁹⁵ *DZ* 304, 2.13a–b [*ZHDZ*, 48.378c].

⁹⁶ Daoist deities would presumably have decided that these magical herbs should grow at Leiping Peak to recognize the emperor's superior actions. The author of the *Traditions of Lord Pei*, for example, writes that Perfected deities convened on the inception of autumn (*liqiu* 立秋), August 7, to determine where the herbs for that given year would grow. *DZ* 1032, 105.5b [*YJQQ*, 2267].

wake of the discovery. The construction of the temple compound at Maoshan, in other words, is an activity Li conceives as an endeavor that would have given the emperor's subjects a positive reaction to his administration.⁹⁷

Other texts written in conjunction with Emperor Xuanzong's construction at Maoshan likewise publicize the emperor's virtues. A memorial dated September 8, 748, and written by some of Li's subordinates, Yang Lisu 楊礪俗, Ge Chongxu 葛冲虚, and Xu Yuanzhao 徐元沼, tells of enlisting two hundred workers to labor on the restoration of the Purple Solarity Observatory.⁹⁸ The hired workers helped with the carpentry and landscaping work at these compounds and also restored the flow of water from a nearby cave, the Grotto Archive Radiant with Light (*guangzhao dongfu* 光昭洞府). The authors of this memorial stress that the water source would increase the "blessings" (*fu* 福) of nearby residents, presumably meaning that the water flowing from the mountain was used to irrigate the fields surrounding Maoshan. At the end of this passage, the authors stress that the emperor's unending support of this temple-building project at Maoshan is reflective of a broader social transformation. Repairing the "traces" (*ji* 迹) of the past compounds of Leiping Peak, in other words, symbolizes how the emperor successfully returned peace and prosperity to his empire.

We respectfully accept your gracious announcement made on the thirteenth of the fifth month [June 13, 748] when two hundred households [living] nearby the Purple Solarity Observatory and one hundred households for each of the Great Peace and Revered Prime Observatories were made tax-free serfs who will help and repair [these temples]. Since we have been blessed with an increased workforce we have cleaned up the tranquil sites [of Maoshan] like the Grotto Archive Radiant with Light and the Sublime Gate of the Everlasting Frame. I humbly submit that my liege, the august emperor [who has] responded to the Dao with sagely writings of the divine warrior in the *kaiyuan* and *tianbao* reigns, has broadly revered the transformations of the Dao,

⁹⁷ Emperor Xuanzong claimed Laozi as his ancestor, and reinforced the significance of Daoist religion by making the *Daode jing* a superior component of the examination system. See Barrett, *Taoism under the T'ang*, 61, 66–67.

⁹⁸ This memorial also features the construction of the Greatest Tranquility Observatory (*Taiping guan* 太平觀) and Revered Prime Observatory (*Chongyuan guan* 崇元觀). Both of these secondary sites were adjacent to the peak of Greater Mao, far to the south of the Purple Solarity Observatory.

and triumphed through the perfected ancestor.⁹⁹ Your deep explanations set good rules, and your rules and norms [illuminate] the keys to the Law.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, you have ordered that the eaves of the shrines at this numinous mountain be repaired and reconstituted. All [our needs] have been granted to establish the traces of the transcendent home of Xu [Mi] at Mao[shan].¹⁰¹

伏奉五月十三日恩制，紫陽觀取側近百姓二百戶，太平，崇元兩觀各一百戶，並蠲免租稅差科，長充修葺灑掃者。實以光昭洞府，永構玄門，掃飾開清靜之場，施力增人戶之福。伏惟開元天寶聖文神武應道皇帝陛下，廣崇道化，克著真宗。重闡徽猷，彝倫法要。遂使靈山祠宇載葺頽綱，茅許仙居咸蒙創述。

By the end of 748, Li and his entourage of priests at Maoshan had finished most of the building of the Purple Solarity Observatory. Four years later, Li wrote the emperor to inform the ruler that the bevy of Maoshan priests had been conducting regular Daoist retreats (*zhai* 齋) on behalf of the emperor. At a ritual altar on Yugang Peak, Li notes that he found “sweet dew” (*ganlu* 甘露) appearing on the pine trees encircling the site. Li interprets the dew as an auspicious sign of heavenly approbation for the recent construction of the Maoshan compounds.

As for the [ritual] fast and feast that I described in my previous memorial as [taking place] east of the Purple Solarity Observatory at the Yugang Peak . . . by chance all the participants of the feats, as well as the officials who were there to inspect [the ritual] all witnessed sweet dew [forming on] the trees surrounding the retreat altar in all four directions. [The dew] was white in color, extremely fragrant, and very sweet [in flavor]. The further the pine trees were away from the altar the less dew was discovered [on their branches]. In all there were two hundred thirty trees with sweet dew [on their branches] . . . I have respectfully sent my disciple Tang Ruoqian along an assembly of imperial commissioners to speak [about this] and present you with two vials of sweet dew.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ The “perfected ancestor” (*zhen zong* 真宗) refers to Laozi, the reputed author of the *Daode jing* and high deity in the Daoist pantheon.

¹⁰⁰ *Huiyou* 徽猷 (“setting good rules”) is a phrase from the ancient ode “Jiao gong” 角弓 [Horn bow], in which the poet contrasts a gentlemen setting a good example from common folk who follow their vices to excess. See Mao 223 (SSJZS), 15a.12b [p. 504]. *Yilun* 彝倫 (“rules and norms”) is a phrase from the “Hong fan” 洪範 referring to the ways that a civilization orders itself. *Shangshu* 尚書 (SSJZS), 12.3a [p. 168]. Ge Hong later uses this phrase in his *Baopuzi* to refer to how the Dao fashions all beings and establishes the norms by which they interact. See *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi*, 10.185; Ware, *Alchemy*, 167.

¹⁰¹ DZ 304, 2.14a [ZHDZ, 48.378c–79a].

¹⁰² DZ 304, 2.16a–b [ZHDZ, 48.379c].

前所奏請紫陽觀東鬱岡山右奉修齋醮..... 綠是齋人及中使齊令誅等，咸見齋壇四遠松樹悉有甘露。其色白，其氣香，其味甘。其松去壇漸遠者而露亦漸少。計今凡降甘露松樹，都有二百三十株.....謹遣弟子唐若倩隨中使齊令說，奉表供進甘露二合。

Emperor Xuanzong's sponsorships of the Maoshan temple compounds continued for nearly a decade after Li Hanguang first began in 748.¹⁰³ Li had difficulty completing the project, at least in part as a result of the social upheaval and subsequent shifts in the imperial patronage of Daoist communities. This decade marked the rise of An Lushan 安祿山 (d. 757 CE), a military general who led a rebellion in 755, and this political turmoil enabled groups at Longhushan and Magushan (in the southwest Jiangxi, Nancheng 南城 county) to rival Maoshan for lucrative imperial sponsorships.¹⁰⁴ While much about these shifts in the Daoist institutions of mid-eighth-century China remains unstudied, we know that the priests at Maoshan funded a series of commemorative inscriptions to help bolster their status as a preeminent center of learning.

Upon Li Hanguang's death in 769, the seventy-six-year-old Wei Jingzhao 韋景昭 (694–785 CE) took control of Maoshan and attempted to stabilize the imperial patronage of Maoshan by erecting stele monuments lauding previous clerics who rebuilt the Leiping site.¹⁰⁵ Wei dedicated a first monument in 777, highlighting the achievements of his

¹⁰³ The prefect of Danyang, Lin Yang 林洋, submitted a notice (*chidie* 勅牒) to the emperor in which Lin writes that funds and equipment were still needed throughout the 550s. Lin informs the emperor that there was not enough space to store the materials, and the team of carpenters needed to rent an extra facility to store their equipment. Lin also complains that the four slaves, six small oxen, and one cart that he was allotted for this project were not adequate the finish the restoration. *DZ* 304, 2.2b–3a [*ZHDZ*, 48.377c–78a].

¹⁰⁴ The group at Magushan formulated a practice rooted in the transmission of the *Beidi jing* 北帝經 [Northern thearch scripture] and the *Beiji huoluo qi yuan fu* 北帝豁洛七元符 [Seven primal talismans of the northern thearch ravine]. They might have had loose affiliations with Li Hanguang's institution as one of Li's disciples, Huang Dongyuan 黃洞元 (689–792), transmitted the *Beidi jing* to students at Maoshan. Zhong, *Maoshan Daojiao*, 142–44.

¹⁰⁵ Wei was from Yanling 延陵 county (in present-day Danyang, Jiangsu). He started out his priestly career in Yanling at the Searching Perfection Observatory 尋真觀 in Yanling under the tutelage of Bao Shirong 包士榮. Thereafter, he then moved to the capital and worked in the Serene Brilliance Observatory 肅明觀 until he was sent to Maoshan in the mid-740s.

predecessor, Li Hanguang.¹⁰⁶ With the help of his colleague Liu Mingsu 劉明素, Wei hired the high-level official Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709–84 CE) to compose the text. In choosing Yan Zhenqing as the author of this text, Wei Jingzhao acquired the services of not only a respected writer, but an individual with experience in restoring ancient Daoist sites.¹⁰⁷ Yan also had been a close friend with Li Hanguang when the former had once served as imperial commissioner in western Zhejiang. By 760, Yan was in regular correspondence with the master thanks to the aid of Wei Jingzhao, who wrote on behalf of the aging Li.¹⁰⁸ Yan served in this region through 771 and, according to his inscription, maintained a close relationship with Li's community even after Li Hanguang died in 769.

The monument bearing Yan's inscription was erected alongside the "Xu Mi Stele" and the monument dedicated to Wang Gui.¹⁰⁹ Like the authors of the previous two monuments, Yan represents Li Hanguang as the principal developer who helped his sponsor construct a temple compound on the site. Part of his role as developer was to house the sacred texts that were long ago produced on the mountain. Yan writes that, prior to moving back to Maoshan in 748, Li lamented to the emperor that the "sacred relics" (*lingji* 靈蹟) of Maoshan could not be found. These relics were not only the physical structures of Maoshan but also the various Shangqing scriptures and registers that were no longer extant. Yan stresses that,

¹⁰⁶ The stele funded by Wei is not, however, the first monument devoted to the memory of Li. There is a shorter monument composed by the secretary of the Imperial Library, Liu Shi 柳識 (fl. ca. 770 CE), on September 15, 772. See "Tang Maoshan ziyang guan xuanjing xiansheng bei" 唐茅山紫陽觀玄靜先生碑 in *DZ* 304, 23.1a–3b [ZHDZ, 48.468a–70c]; Kirkland, "The Last Grand Master," 46–52. For Liu's official biography, see *Xin Tangshu*, 142.4671–73.

¹⁰⁷ Prior to writing this inscription, Yan spearheaded the restoration of a shrine in present-day Jiangxi province devoted to the Daoist goddess Wei Huacun 魏華存 (251–334 CE). See "Jin zixu yuanjun lingshang zhen siming nanyue furen Wei furen xiantan bei ming" 晉紫虛元君領上真司命南嶽夫人魏夫人仙壇碑銘 in *QTW*, 340.17a–22b; Schafer, "The Restoration of the Shrine of Wei Hua-ts'un," 126.

¹⁰⁸ After Wei passed away, he was best remembered for his role as an assistant to Li Hanguang during this period. See the commemorative inscription written upon Wei's death where the bulk of the text focuses on his time as Li's aide. *DZ* 304, 23.9b–10a [ZHDZ, 48.471a].

¹⁰⁹ Yan's commemorative inscription was not the first monument erected at Maoshan in honor of Li's clerical achievements. Another monument was erected in 748 at the entrance of the Huayang Grotto to commemorate Li's transmission of Daoist scriptures to the emperor. The investiture of the emperor with Daoist credentials was the event that enabled Li to leave the capital and begin his construction work at Maoshan. After this event Li's official title was Master of Mystic Quiet (*xuanjing xiansheng* 玄靜先生). *DZ* 304, 23.5b [ZHDZ, 48.469c]; Schafer, *Mao Shan*, 37; Kirkland, "The Last Taoist Grand Master," 55–57.

upon first arriving at Maoshan, Li Hanguang received an unprecedented level of material support from the throne to reconstitute the architectural and textual treasures.

On many occasions the Master requested to return [to Maoshan] in an effort to repair Maoshan's sacred relics that were on the verge of extinction, as well as [re-]edit the Perfected scriptures and secret registers that had become scattered. Consequently, there was a special edict installing him at the former residence of Yang [Xi] and the Xus at Purple Solarity. He was thereupon rewarded and seen off with gifts of two hundred rolls of thin silk, two sets of religious vestments, a censer, and imperially composed verses. [The emperor] prohibited hunting and fishing on the mountainsides [of Maoshan], and those who consumed strong foods and meat could not obtain entry. He [also] conducted public and private prayers and supplications [on behalf of all living things], and totally abolished livestock pens. The Master reached the mountain in the autumn of the sixth year [747]. In this year, imperial communications arrived three times, and the incessant favors and emoluments lit up the deepest gorges.¹¹⁰

先生嘗以茅山靈蹟翦焉將墜，真經秘籙亦多散落，請歸修葺。迺特詔於楊，許舊居紫陽以宅之。仍賜絹二百疋，法衣兩副，香鑪一具，御製詩及叔以餞之。又禁於山側採捕漁獵，食葷血者不得輒入。公私祈禱，咸絕牲牢。先生以六載秋到山。是歲詔書三至，渥澤頻繁，輝映崖谷。

Yan depicts Li's building of the Purple Solarity Observatory as an activity that was intimately related to the cleric's role as the preeminent exegete of Daoist scriptures, a feature mirrored in both Tao's "Xu Mi Stele" and Wang Xuanzong's inscriptions. Li Hanguang takes up the task of hunting down these lost textual treasures, and his abbotship at Maoshan is predicated on his superior knowledge of the textual history of the mountain.

In the beginning, [Mao]shan housed the scriptures and formulae which the Shangqing Perfected beings—senior administrator Xu, Lord Yang [Xi], and Tao Yinju [i.e., Hongjing]—had themselves written out. They had been handed down as treasures from generation to generation. With time, they had met with loss and destruction, and had been scattered and lost instead of being passed down. The Master received a mandate to seek them out, organize these relics completely, and present them to the throne.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ *DZ* 304, 23.4b–5a [*ZHDZ*, 48.469b]; translation based on Kirkland, "The Last Taoist Grand Master," 55.

¹¹¹ *DZ* 304, 23.5a [*ZHDZ*, 48.469b]; translation based on Kirkland, "The Last Taoist Grand Master," 55.

初，山中有上真人許長史，楊君，陶隱居自寫經法。歷代傳寶。時遭喪亂，散逸無遺。先生奉詔搜求，悉備其蹟而進上之。

Many of the details Yan writes about the construction of the Purple Solarity Observatory were adapted from Li's memorials written about these events. Yan chooses to include details, however, that reflect how Li's mission at Maoshan paralleled the experiences of previous Maoshan clerics, most notably Tao Hongjing. Yan, for example, includes a description of the miraculous herbs growing in the same location where Tao Hongjing once compounded elixirs. The discovery of these plants, writes Yan, resulted in the emperor notifying the gods of the discovery, as well as in an increase in the level of support that the various branches of Li's institution received.

In the summer of that year, in the fifth month [June 1–30], there were eighty-one stalks of excrescent herbs sprouting between [a pile of] pine-stones on the very spot where Yinju [i.e., Tao] once compounded elixirs. An edict ordered the master and court officials to write an announcement to the numinous transcendents, seal it up, and present it to them. In the summer, there was also an edict that two hundred households near the Purple Solarity Observatory, and a hundred each at the Great Peace and Revered Prime Observatories, should remit their compulsory labor in order to support the caretakers [of these institutions].¹¹²

是歲夏五月，隱居合丹之所，有芝草八十一莖散生松石之間。詔俾先生與中官啟告靈仙，緘封表進。夏，又詔以紫陽觀側近二百戶，太平，崇元兩觀各一百戶，並免其官徭，以供香火。

Yan's inscription for the Li Hanguang stele reiterates many of the same ideas expressed in the previous monuments of Leiping Peak. Yan's text highlights the chain of events by which Li procured sponsorship for the project, his move to Maoshan, and his redevelopment of Xu's temple. The building of Purple Solarity Observatory was the culminating event of Li's career, and was an activity causing Maoshan's gods to respond favorably to its new human inhabitants. The framework used to represent Li's clerical achievements parallels and echoes the inscriptions dedicated to the careers of Tao Hongjing

¹¹² DZ 304, 23.5b [ZHDZ, 48.469c]; translation based on Kirkland, "The Last Taoist Grand Master," 56–57 though I have departed from this text in a few places.

and Wang Gui. Of course, the analogous ideas contained in these texts were not merely related on an abstract level but also through a physical symbol. These texts were all erected side by side before the foundation of Xu's temple, the site on which these various lodges and observatories were built. The addition of each new stele monument signaled not a replacement of the old but rather the reiteration of a past narrative.

The juxtaposition of the monuments at Leiping Peak is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that old monuments were periodically re-engraved on new monuments. A few years after the erection of Li Hanguang's stele, in 778, Wei Jingzhao, with the financial assistance of Liu Mingsu, ordered a replica of Tao's "Xu Mi Stele" to be carved and placed next to Li's stele.¹¹³ Extant transcriptions of the "Xu Mi Stele" suggest that Wei added little to the recreated monument in the way of text or images. Those who funded the reproduction of the newly erected "Xu Mi Stele," therefore, tell us nothing of what they hoped to secure in this dedication of this second costly monument. We can surmise, however, that the close proximity of the monuments commemorating the recent and past inhabitants resulted in a visual display of the temple's clerical lineage. The ongoing rewriting of the Leiping temple was not to erase or alter the past, but to apply layer upon layer of analogous claims of authority. This reiterative effect was instrumental in enabling new religious entrepreneurs to establish a presence at Maoshan.

¹¹³ According to Zhang Dunyi 張敦頤 (b. 1097), the abbot of Purple Solarity, Liu Xingju 劉行矩, recarved the "Xu Mi Stele." See his *Liuchao shiji bianlei* 六朝事迹編類 (*SKQS*), 2.67a–b [p. 247]; Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 367. It is likely that Mingsu and Xingju are the same person as evidenced by a body of literature connecting Xingju and Li Hanguang with the renovation of the Purple Solarity Observatory. See *DZ* 304, 2.11a–b [*ZHDZ*, 48.378a]; *QTW*, 927.3b–4a.

Conclusion

This chapter introduces the commemoration of three building projects undertaken at Xu's temple at Maoshan in the sixth through eighth centuries. I argue that each of these texts builds upon earlier written texts in that all of the authors focus on the clerics who redeveloped the site. An analysis of the writing and rewriting of Maoshan illustrates how the increasing clerical presence on the mountain shaped the way that readers accessed the mountain's history. Each of the authors discusses the history of Maoshan to some degree, but each clearly demonstrates that the writing of the sacred site was not an attempt to provide an unbiased depiction of the history of Maoshan. On the contrary, each author uses written texts—most notably, memorials and inscriptions—as a means of reinforcing the contributions of the clerical developers who were sponsored by imperial powers to restore the site. This is not to say that the later representations of Maoshan were without innovation and change. We saw, for instance, a marked increase in the ways that Maoshan's head clerics were imagined as fantastic individuals who were on intimate terms with the mountain's gods. Nevertheless, the above texts suggest there was a relatively stable set of rhetorical strategies by which writers characterized the construction projects undertaken at Leiping Peak.

An analysis of the above texts also illuminates the accretive fashion in which promotional literature for temple compounds was created in medieval China. This is especially true for the various stele monuments erected side by side over the course of many centuries. A newly erected monument did not replace earlier iterations but added another layer in a string of claims. Each text in this sequence represented the development of the same site at a different point in time. The benefit of analyzing these writings together is that it illuminates a deep grammar common among all the writers representing the same site. One of

the major issues at stake in the written representation of Xu's temple was to shape opinion about the accomplishments of the clerics who occupied and developed this site.

Given the importance of the written representation of a temple in establishing its identity, the writings about Xu's temple provoke a rethinking about the social, political, and economic conditions making these writings relevant to readers. The memorials and inscriptions accompanying the building of temples were not straightforward descriptions of the history, but significant ways in which aspiring religious entrepreneurs persuaded sponsors of the need for continued and future site sponsorship. These texts are important because they inform us not of what was *really* built at these sites but rather of the strategies by which writers aimed to expand, renovate, and rebuild in the future. In every iteration of Xu's temple, writers deployed dual backward- and forward-looking statements to assert identity for the present temple compound, and argue for its continued existence.

CONCLUSION

This research project analyzes the written representation of temple compounds in early medieval China. I focus on the persuasive aims of these texts and argue they reflect how writers shaped public opinion about temple construction. I lay emphasis on narratives describing the clerics at Buddhist monasteries, Daoist lodges, and imperial shrines who promoted temple construction to prospective sponsors. Whereas previous studies have analyzed the doctrinal and exegetical contributions of these clerics, my project takes a different approach. I argue that clerics were religious entrepreneurs who marketed their skills as architects, developers, and contractors to prospective clients.

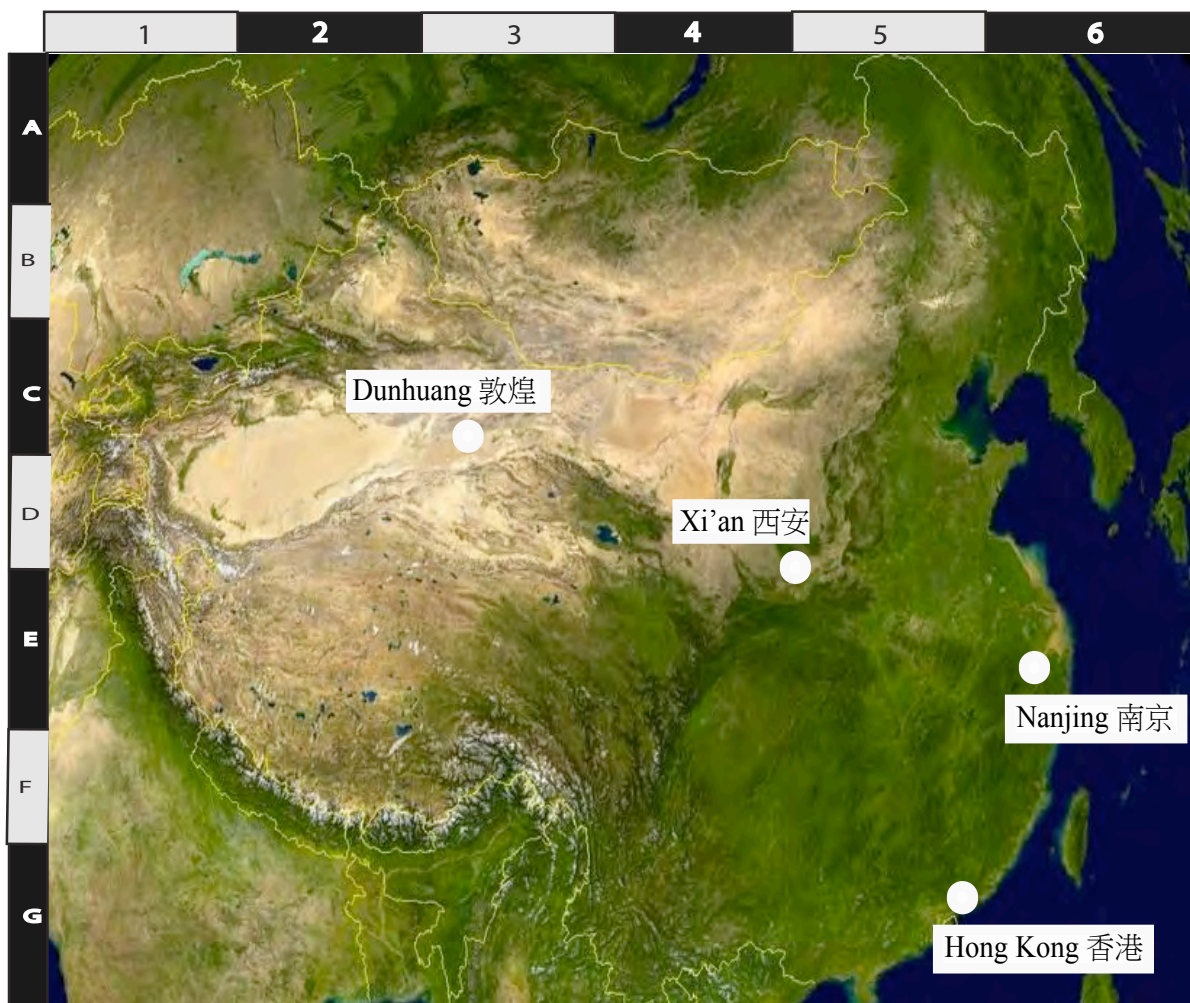
In the course of studying temple-related texts, I highlight two main modes of rhetoric by which writers described the clerical (re)building of temples. In the first, writers recounted historical events associated with a temple compound. They represented temple construction not as a new endeavor but as a reconstitution of the past. Both Daoist and Buddhist authors conceived of temple compounds as symbolic of reunification, which was, no doubt, a potent political message in an age of discord. In the second, temple-related texts looked to the future. Writers focused on the current custodians endowed with great sums of money to build, maintain, and rebuild temple compounds. These texts illuminate the ambitions of clerics—individuals who sought funds to expand their physical and ideological influence over religious communities.

At the center of this project was the temple compound established by Tao Hongjing at Maoshan. Previous studies of Tao's Maoshan temple have established its importance in the early codification of Daoist scriptures and hagiographies. My interest in Maoshan, however,

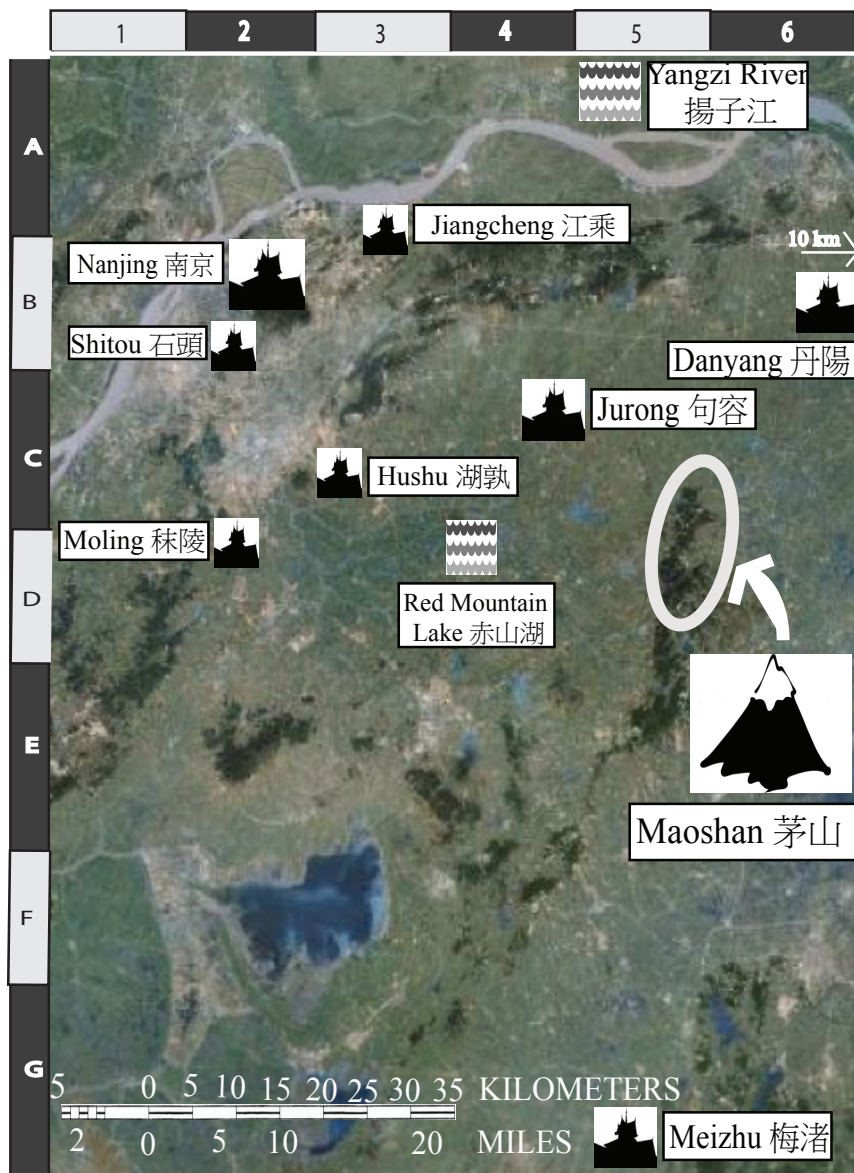
has been to use these texts as illustrative of the attitudes and conceptions of temple cultures, both Daoist and Buddhist. This comparison enables us to analyze the clerical culture of early medieval China, a phenomenon hitherto studied exclusively as the product of one religious lineage or tradition. Subsequently, we arrive at a more profound understanding how these clerics used written texts to shape sponsors' attitudes of gift giving and fundraising. More simply, written texts about temple life shows us how these buildings came to life and how onlookers imagined the benefits of their construction.

It is my hope that my study of temple construction in early medieval China will be useful for the analysis of other kinds of religious architecture, both in China and elsewhere. At the very least, written texts certainly play a similar role in the ongoing reconstruction of temple compounds in China today, especially those rebuilt under the auspices of China's Tourist Bureau.¹ The previous chapters should guard us against the idea that present-day construction projects are solely the products of a post-socialist climate —the recovery and reconstruction of ancient sacred sites is an activity with a long-range development. This research project takes a first step in analyzing how Chinese temple-related texts facilitate a more profound understanding of the production and reception of these compounds.

¹ In the wake of recent economic growth in China, many ancient temple sites have been touted as first-class tourist destinations. Carter, "Touring Harbin's Pasts"; Chan, "Temple-Building and Heritage in China," Jing, "Knowledge, Organization, and Symbolic Capital"; Qin, *Yaoshan shengmu*. For more on the transformation of devotional sites into tourist sites, see Baram, "Appropriating the Past"; MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity."



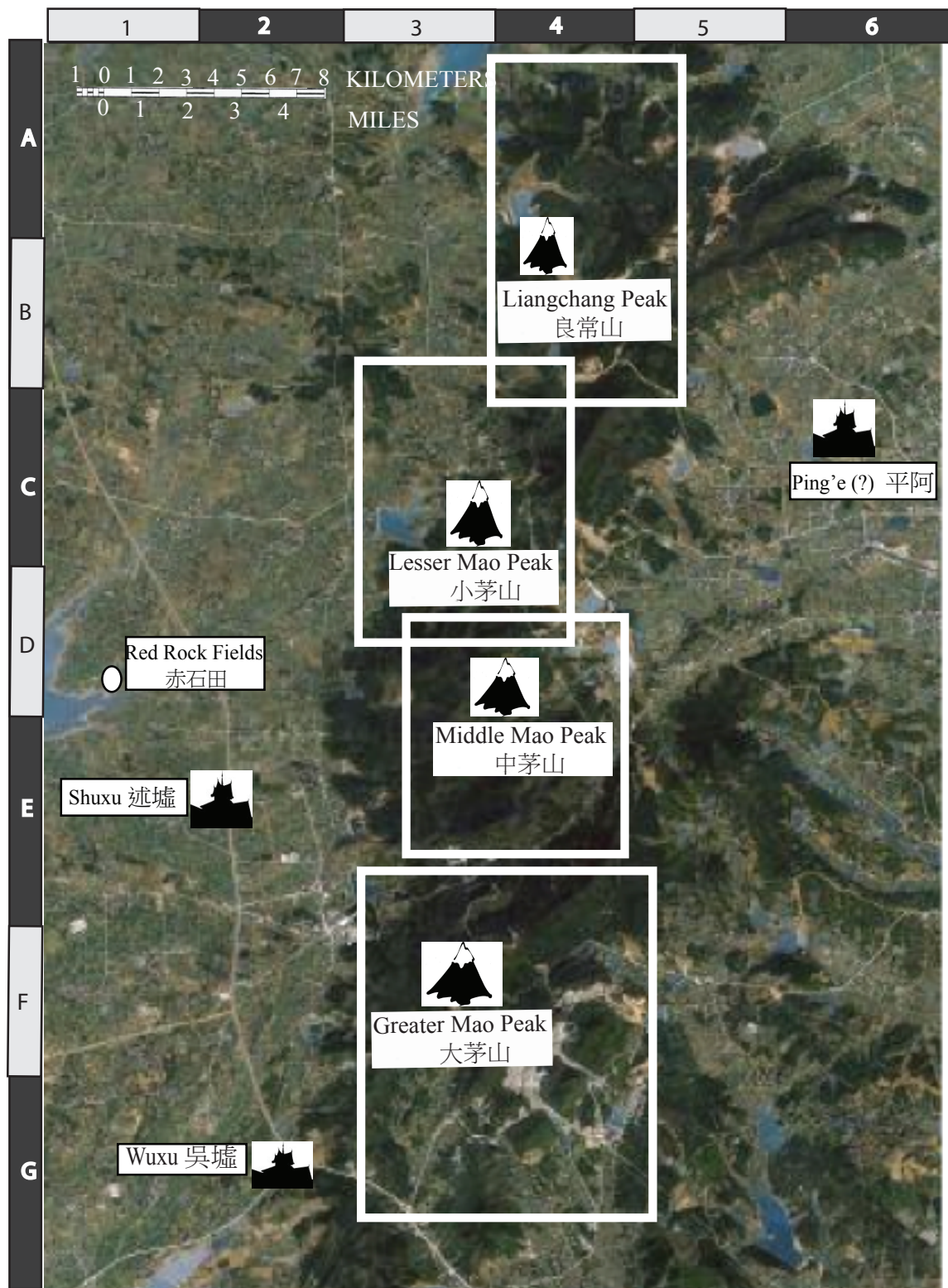
Map One: China
Imager © ClubChina



Map Two: Nanjing Region

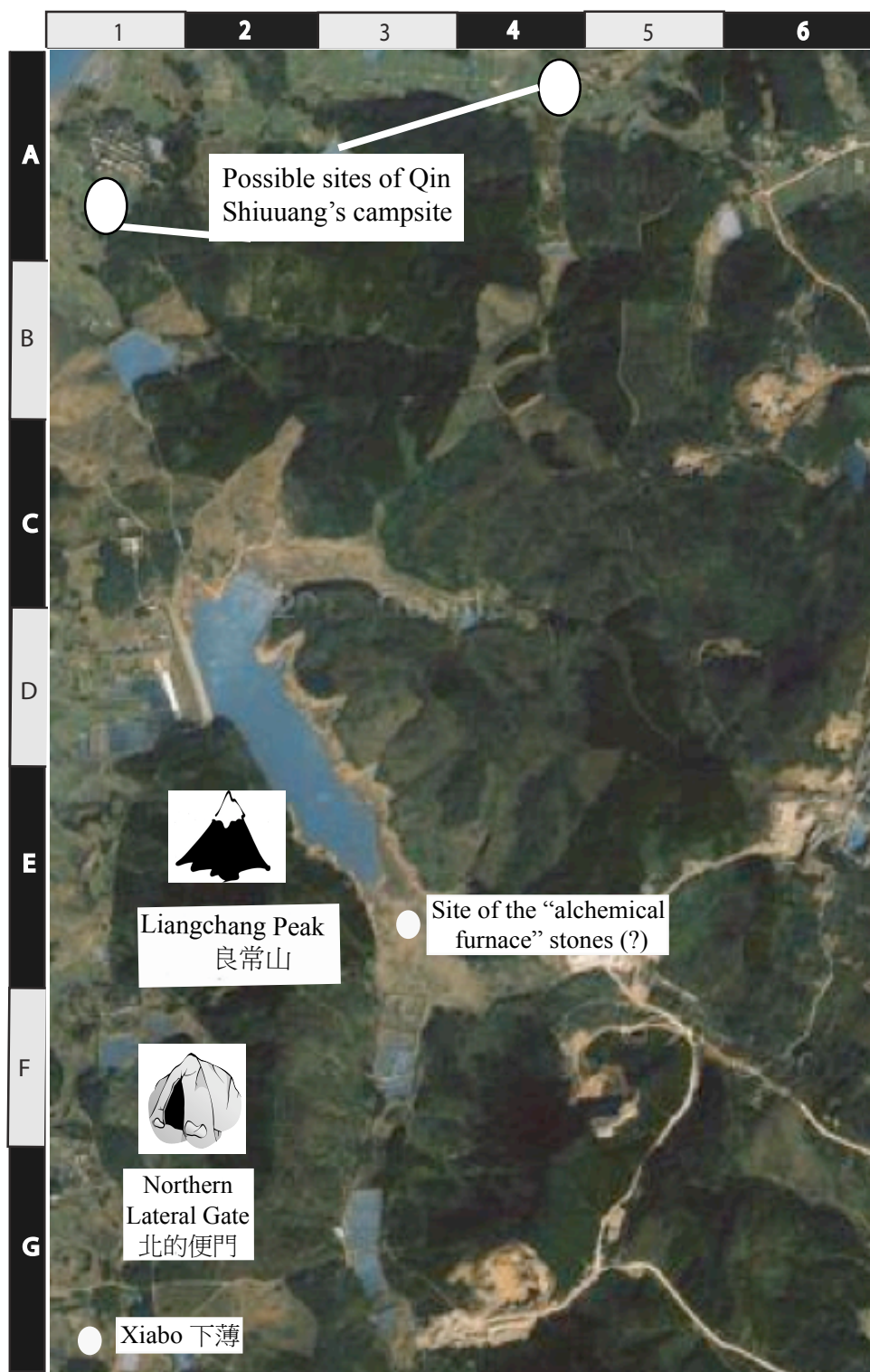
Image © TerraMetrics





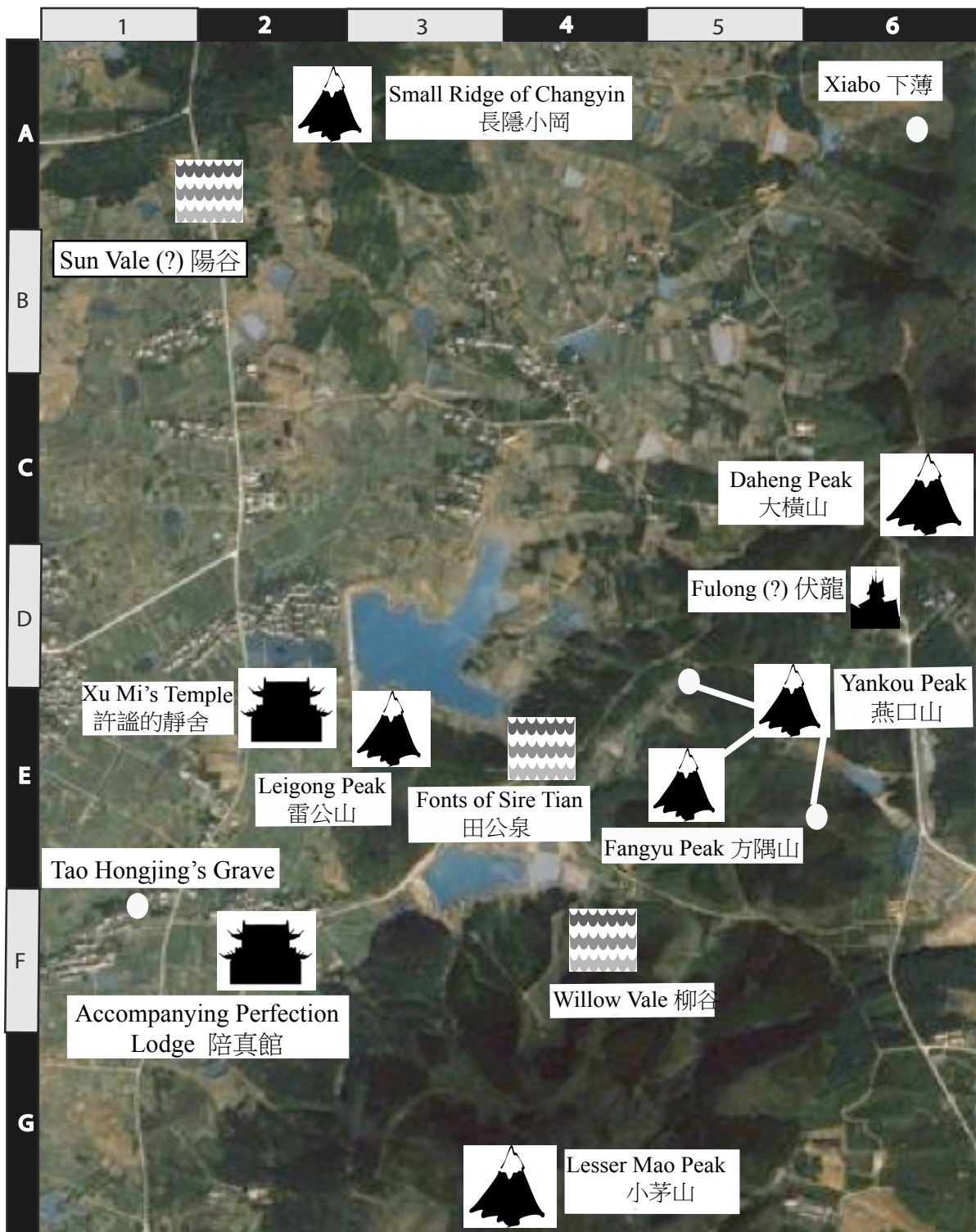
Map Three: Maoshan

Image © TerraMetrics



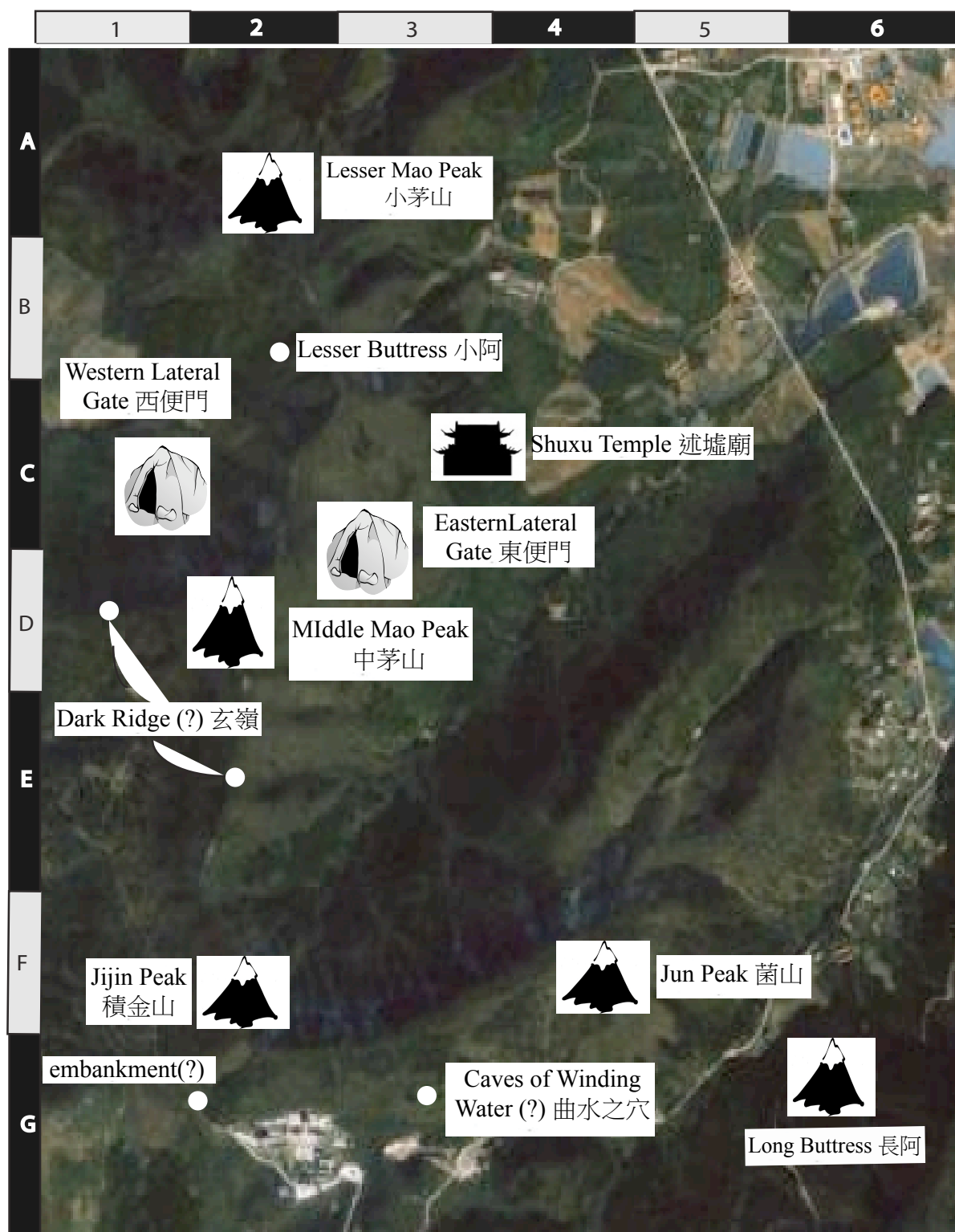
Map Four: Liangchang Peak

Image © TerraMetrics



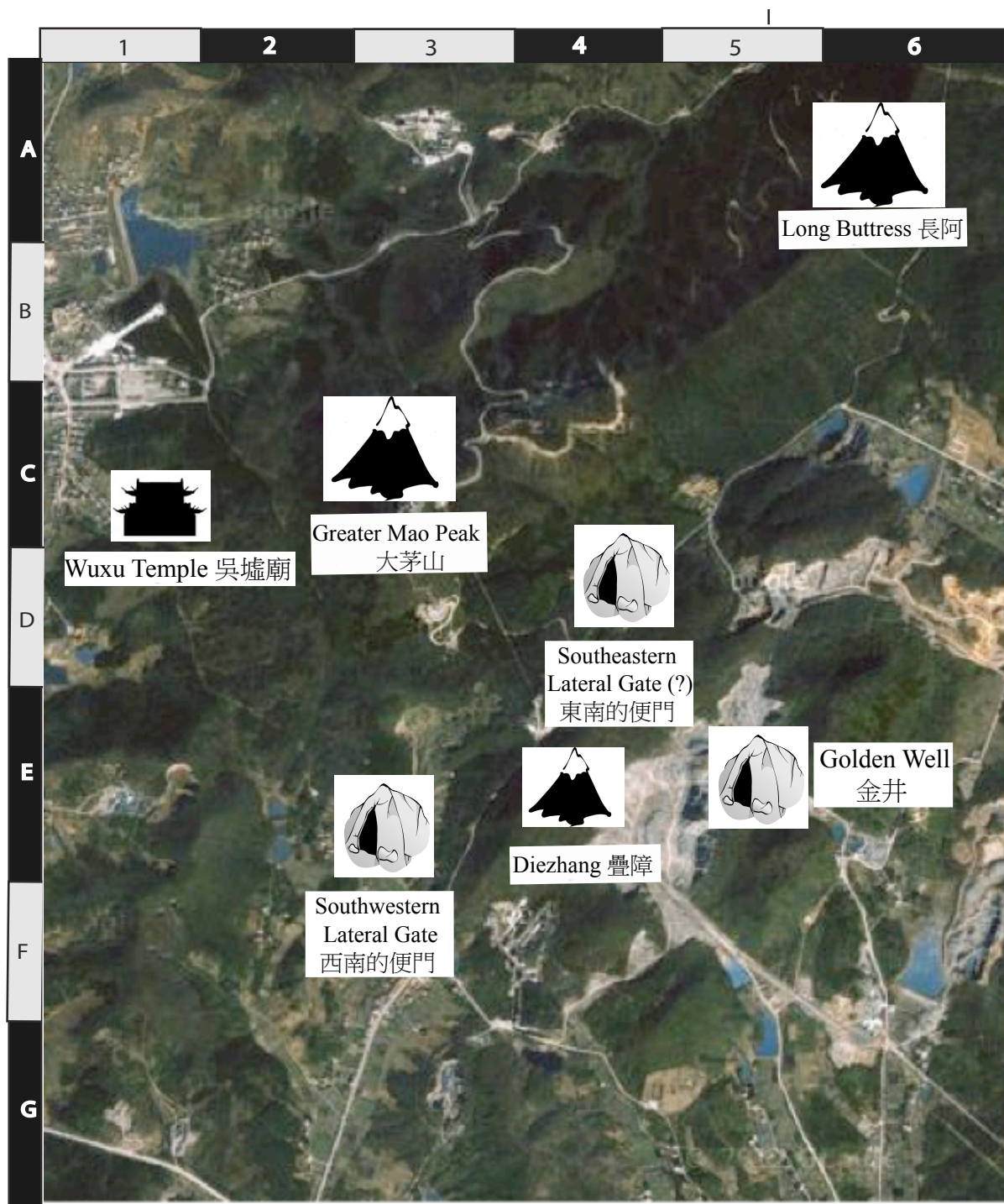
Map Five: Lesser Mao Peak

Image © TerraMetrics



Map Six: Middle Mao Peak

Image © TerraMetrics



Map Seven: Greater Mao Peak

Image © TerraMetrics

MAP INDEX

Accompanying Perfection Lodge (*Peizhen guan* 陪真館), a site near Leigong Peak where Jiang Fuchu 蔣負芻 built his lodge at the end of the fifth century. See MAP 5, F-2.

Amen 阿門, see Eastern Lateral Gate.

Bozhi long 栢枝隴, see Southeastern Lateral Gate.

Buttress Gate, see Eastern Lateral Gate.

Caves of Winding Water (*qushui zhi xue* 曲水之穴), Yang claims this is an ancient name for the systems of fonts and marshes, especially those surrounding Jijin Peak. It is likely that these caves correspond with the string of caves on the southwestern tip of what is now called Tiger Ridge (*Laohu gang* 老虎崗), the caves west of the Floriate Solarity Lodge. See MAP 3, G-3.

Chang'an 長安, see Xi'an.

Chang'e 長阿, see Long Buttress.

Changyin gang 長隱岡, see Daheng Peak.

Changyin xiaogang 長隱小岡, see Small Ridge of Changyin.

Chishanhu 赤山湖, see Red Mountain Lake.

Chishi tian 赤石田, see Red Rock fields.

Crouching Dragon, see *Fulong* 伏龍.

Daheng (“Crosswise”) Peak (*Daheng shan* 大橫山), the northeastern tip of the Maoshan chain. Yang writes that this peak also has two alternate names: Yugang (“Shadow Ridge”) Peak (*Yugang shan* 鬱崗山) and Gang (“Ridge”) Peak 崗山. In the 490s Tao searched the Daheng Peak for traces of the encampments set up during the third-century gold rush at Maoshan but found nothing. At that time, Tao called the area *Changyin* (“Long Sanctuary”) Ridge (*Changyin gang* 長隱岡), but after his exile he referred to it as Yugang Peak (his studio was called Yugang Studio). Tao moved to the Daheng Peak in 516, and remained there for at least six years. See MAP 5, C-6.

Da Maoshan 大茅山, see Greater Mao Peak.

Dark Ridge (*Xuanling* 玄嶺), an esker near the Middle Mao Peak associated with a large

cache of cinnabar. Tao Hongjing proposes two possible sites for Dark Ridge, running up the southeastern and southwestern sides of Middle Mao Peak. See MAP 6, D-1, E-2.

Diezhang 疊障, a peak southeast of Greater Mao Peak. See MAP 7, E-4.

Difei shan 地肺山 (“Mount Earth-lung”), a late medieval synonym for Maoshan.

Dongxu 洞虛, see Grotto Barrens.

Eastern Lateral Gate (*dong bianmen* 東便門), one of the five entrances to Maoshan’s Grotto-Heaven. Yang describes a cave on the eastern side of Maoshan called Buttress Gate (*Amen* 阿門). Tao suspects this should be the lateral gate, but was unable to identify its location. The present developers of Maoshan, the Daoist Culture Research Center (Daojiao wenhua zhongxin 道教文化中心), identify this cave as located at the Eastern Cave of Floriate Solarity (*Huayang dongdong* 華陽東洞); see MAP 6, D-3.

Fangyu (“Square-corner”) Peak (*Fangyu shan* 方隅山), also known as Fangyu (“Square-bend”) Peak (*Fangyu shan* 方隅山). Yang Xi writes that beneath this peak was an entrance to a grotto called Square Font Lodge (*Fangyuan guan* 方源館). In Tao’s commentary, he states that Fangyu Peak was also the site where ancient adept Li Ming 李明 made elixirs. Tao built a pharmacy (*yaowu* 藥物) sometime around 518–19. DZ 1016, 14.3a. See MAP 5, E-5.

Floriate Solarity Lodge (*Huayang guan* 華陽館), a compound Tao developed after procuring his first imperial sponsorship around 501 CE. In his “Xu Mi Stele” Tao writes that this lodge was located near Middle Mao Peak, but present-day developers claim that this lodge is west of the Jijin Peak (Yang, *Maoshan Daojiao zhi*, 125). In either case, Tao lived at this lodge until early 505 when he moved back down into the valley east of Jijin Peak.

Fonts of Sire Tian (*Tiangong quan* 田公泉), the springs filling Guoqian, the reservoir east and southeast of Xu’s temple. In his “Xu Mi Stele,” Tao writes that there is a path leading from the Leiping compound towards Jiangba passing near these fonts. This path would likely correspond to the southern edge of present-day Red Flag Reservoir (*Hongqi shuiku* 紅旗水庫). The springs were named after Old Man Tian (*Tian weng* 田翁), who used to live at the site. See MAP 5, E-4.

Fulong 伏龍 (“Crouching dragon”), Yang’s “ancient” name for Maoshan, and was later the name of a village. Tao heard a legend that Fulong was east of Daheng Peak in a village called Sishe gang 死蛇崗 (“Dead Snake Ridge”). See MAP 5, D-6. Tao thought Fulong was connected to Sun Quan’s gold digging at the Golden Well, and thus should be located on a site far on the southern face of Maoshan.

Gangshan 崗山 (“Mount ridge”). See Daheng Peak.

Golden Hills (*Jinling* 金陵), name of the above ground topographical features of Maoshan, cf. Grotto Barrens.

Golden Platform (*Jintan* 金壇), see Goujin Platform.

Golden Well (*Jinjing* 金井), an area southeast of Greater Mao Peak that by Tao's day had been mined extensively. Tao suspects this was the site of Sun Quan's gold mining activity. See MAP 7, E-5.

Goujin 句金 ("The gold of Gouqu"), an "ancient" name for Maoshan.

Goujin Platform (*Goujin zhi tan* 句金之壇), an area of Maoshan's caves where gods convened for seasonal meetings. Yang writes that the platform was covered with a boulder, but Tao was unable to location this rock based on this description. The Goujin Platform, or simply Golden Platform (*Jintan* 金壇) was also used metonymically to refer to the entire Maoshan chain.

Gouqu 句曲 ("Hooked and winding"), an "ancient" synonym for Maoshan.

Guoqian 郭千, an area occupying the southern portion of present-day Red Flag Reservoir (see MAP 5, D-3; cf. Fonts of Duke Tian). In Xu Mi's day, this area was a marshland (*pingze* 平澤), but Yang writes that the ancient resident, Guo Sichao 郭四朝 (fl. third century BCE?), ordered his servants (*shiren* 使人) to reclaim this area into farmland (DZ 1016, 13.10b–11a [SKKK, 485]). In his 499 commentary, Tao states that there was an embankment with a hole in the wall. By the time Tao wrote the "Xu Mi Stele" in 518, however, this levee had been fixed and a reservoir filled this area.

Greater Mao Peak (*Da Maoshan* 大茅山), the peak whose underworld bureaucracy was controlled by Mao Ying 茅盈, the lord who directs destinies (*siming jun* 司命君). See MAP 7, C-3. During the late fifth century, the area southwest of this peak was a growing pilgrim destination (see Southwestern Lateral Gate).

Grotto Barrens (*Dongxu* 洞虛), name of the subterranean topographical features of Maoshan, cf. Golden Hills.

Hushu 湖孰, a military stronghold and prominent capital suburb. ZGGJ, 916. See MAP 2, C-3.

Huayang guan 華陽館, see Floriate Solarity Lodge.

Jiangba 姜巴, a fruit and herb farm established in the Qin dynasty by priest Zhou Taibin 周太賓 and his sponsor Jiang Shumao 姜叔茂, the marquis of Baling 巴陵. When Tao rebuilt Xu's temple he constructed a path leading south along the present-day Red Flag Reservoir, past the Fonts of Duke Tian, and over the ridge to Jiangba. This area likely corresponds to the fields maintained along the valley connecting the present-day People's Army Reservoir (*minbing shuiku* 民兵水庫), the body of water on the south side of Leiping Peak (see MAP 5, F-3), and Fangyu Peak.

Jiangcheng 江乘, a major port ten miles downriver from present-day Nanjing. See MAP 2, B-3.

Jijin ("Accumulated Gold") Peak (*Jijin shan* 積金山), Tao lived in the valley east of

Jinjin Peak when he first moved to Maoshan in 492. He moved away from this site around 501 and took residence in the newly constructed Floriate Solarity Lodge. By early 505, Tao moved east of Jijin Peak until his departure from Maoshan in 508. He returned to live here one last time in late February or early March 514, and before moving near Xu's temple at Leiping in 515. See MAP 6, F-2.

Jinjing 金井, see Golden Well.

Jinling 金陵, see Golden Hills.

Jintan 金壇, see Goujin Platform.

Jun Peak (*Junshan* 菌山), a mountain east of Jijin Peak and northwest of Long Buttrass. According to Xu's earlier letters he had decided to build his residence here rather than Liangchang. By 366, however, Xu decided to build at the site northwest of Leigong Peak. There are no extant revelations detailing when he changed his mind about constructing at Jun Peak. The elevation here would be much higher and presumably far more costly than the Leiping site. See MAP 6, F-4.

Jurong 句容, the hometown of Xu Mi. See MAP 2, C-4.

Leigong ("Thunder Lord") Peak (*Leigong shan* 雷公山) the hills separating Lesser Mao Peak and Xu's temple. See MAP 5, E-3.

Lesser Buttrass (*Xiao'e* 小阿), a broad basin connecting Middle and Lesser Mao Peaks. See MAP 6, B-2.

Lesser Mao Peak (*Xiao Maoshan* 小茅山), the peak whose subterranean bureau was ruled by the youngest Mao brother, Mao Zhong 茅衷, the "lord who protects lifespans (*baoming jun* 保命君). See MAP 5, G-4; MAP 6, A-2.

Liangchang ("Good-forever") Peak 良常山, a mountain in northern Maoshan that both Xu and Tao (unsuccessfully) promoted to their respective sponsors as an ideal construction site. See MAP 4, E-2.

Ligu 柳谷, see Willow Vale.

Long Buttrass (*Chang'e* 長阿), a long and contorted ridge connecting Greater Mao Peak in southern Maoshan with the northern peaks of the mountain chain. See MAP 6, G-6; MAP 7, A-6.

Middle Mao Peak (*Zhong Maoshan* 中茅山), the mountain whose subterranean bureau was presided over by the middle Mao brother, Mao Gu 茅固, the "lord who determines the registers" (*dinglu jun* 定錄君). See MAP 6, D-2.

Moling ("Fodder Hills") 秣陵, a city south of present-day Nanjing. Originally, this town was called Golden Hills (*Jinling* 金陵), but the name was changed to Moling in 210 BCE. During the Later Han, this area was placed under the command of the Danyang

commandery, and in 212 CE Sun Quan briefly established his capital here under the name Jianye 建業. In 280 CE, the Jin court renamed the city Moling. *Songshu*, 35.1029. See MAP 2, D-2.

Nanjing 南京, the present-day city that served as the capital for the southern dynasties of the early medieval era. See MAP 1, E-6.

Peizhen guan 陪真館, see Accompanying Perfection Lodge.

Ping'e 平阿, a village on the east side of Maoshan where a sorceress named Yin 尹 lived during Tao's day. See MAP 2, C-6.

Qushui zhi xue 曲水之穴, see Caves of Winding Water.

Red Mountain Lake (*Chishanhu* 赤山湖), a reservoir fourteen kilometers southwest of Jurong, perhaps near the small peak rising west of the present-day Sancha County 三岔鄉. Dikes for the reservoir were first built during Sun Quan's rule in 239 CE, and the channels carrying water away Red Mountain Lake were significantly increased during Qi Emperor Ming's reign [494–98 CE] so that boats could travel between the capital and the reservoir. *Nanshi*, 70.1713. See MAP 2, D-4.

Red Rock fields (*Chishi tian* 赤石田), the area where Xu Mi operated an agricultural enterprise in the late 350s or early 360s. When Yang was hired as Xu's spiritual advisor around 364 there was a major drought in the area and the reservoir that Xu built on the western face of Maoshan was dry and his fields at Red Rock were barren. During the 490s Tao made it one of his top priorities to restore the irrigation infrastructure feeding these fields. Tao writes that these fields were ten *li* west of Middle Mao Peak, which would place them near the eastern edge of the present-day Maoshan Reservoir. See MAP 3, D-1.

Rocky Grave (*Shifen* 石墳), see Eastern Lateral Gate.

Shifen 石墳 ("Rocky Grave"), see Eastern Lateral Gate.

Shitou 石頭, a city founded in 212 CE, but had previously had been developed as *Jinling cheng* 金陵城 ("Golden Hills City") as early as the third century BCE. By the mid-third century, Shitou served as the capital for Sun Quan's regime, and remained a prominent military base. The city was abandoned in 625 CE, and is located behind Shitou Peak in western Nanjing. See MAP 2, C-2.

Shuxu 述墟, or *Zhushu* 朮墟, a village on the western front of Maoshan. Shuxu was at the confluence of many rivers of Maoshan such as the waters from Sun Vale and Willow Vale eventually arrived at Shuxu. See MAP 3, E-2. In Tao's day, residents of Shuxu maintained a temple on the eastern side of Middle Mao Peak. See MAP 6, C-3.

Sishe gang 死蛇崗 ("Dead Snake Ridge"), see Fulong.

Small Ridge of Changyin ("Long Sanctuary") (*Changyin xiaogang* 長隱小岡), a series of

smaller peaks northwest of Xu's temple. Tao thought that the Sun Vale was somewhere on the foothills of the small string of peaks. See MAP 5, A-2.

Southeastern Lateral Gate (西南的便門), an entrance to Maoshan's subterranean worlds that Tao identified as a cave at the Thuja Branch Mounds (*Bozhi long* 栢枝隴). See MAP 7, D-4.

Southwestern Lateral Gate (西南的便門), a cave to the southwest of Greater Mao Peak. By the end of the fifth century, the valley near the cave had become a popular pilgrim destination. This cave is northeast of the present-day Revering Longevity Observatory (*Chongshou guan* 崇壽觀). See MAP 7, E-3.

Sun Vale (*Yanggu* 陽谷), gushing waters that Tao Hongjing thought were located northwest of Xu's temple near the northwest foothills of Changyin Ridge. See MAP 5, A-2.

Thuja Branch Mounds, see Southeastern Lateral Gate.

Tiangong quan 田公泉, see Fonts of Sire Tian.

Western Lateral Gate (*xi bianmen* 西便門), the entryway into Maoshan's subterranean world located somewhere between Lesser and Middle Mao Peaks. Tao conjectures that this cave was located in a place called Rocky Grave (*Shifen* 石墳). See MAP 6, C-1.

Willow Vale (*Liugu* 柳谷), a site less than one kilometer southeast from Xu Mi's temple. The site was full of gushing springs (*kai* 汧) fed by the Fonts of Duke Tian (*Tiangong quan*). See MAP 1, F-4.

Wuxu 吳墟, a town Tao Hongjing thought was established during the third century CE Maoshan gold rush. See MAP 3, G-2.

Xi'an 西安, known in the ancient and medieval eras as Chang'an 長安, this was the capital of the Former Han dynasty and later of the Sui and Tang dynasties. See MAP 1, D-4.

Xiabo 下薄, a site village elders in the late fifth century CE claim was the place where Mao Ying practiced alchemy in the Han dynasty. See MAP 4, G-1; MAP 5, A-6.

Xiao Maoshan 小茅山, see Lesser Mao Peak.

Xiao'e 小阿, see Lesser Butress.

Xu Mi's quiescent dwelling (*Xu Mi de jingshe* 許謚的靜舍), a hermitage first built in 366 north of Guoqian. This site probably corresponds with the southwestern corner of present-day Red Flag Reservoir. Yang Xi claimed that Leigong Peak was visible when standing on the eastern edge of the compound. See MAP 5, E-2.

Xuanling 玄嶺, see Dark Ridge

Yanggu 陽谷, see Sun Vale.

Yangzi River 揚子江, the river flowing to the north of Nanjing, Jurong, and Maoshan. See MAP 2.

Yankou (“Swallow’s Mouth”) Peak (*Yankou shan* 燕口山), is not one, but three mountains northeast of Lesser Mao Peak. Tao identified the Fangyu Peak as one of the three (DZ 1016, 14.2b). The other two are likely what are now called Baihu (“White Tiger”) Peak (*Baihu shan* 白虎山) and Sangong (“Three Dukes”) Peak (*Sangong shan* 三公山). See MAP 5, E-5.

Yanling 延陵, a city in present-day Changzhou 常州, Jiangsu province, or about seventy-five kilometers due east of Jijin Peak.

Yugang (“forested ridge”) Peak (*Yugang shan* 鬱崗山), see Daheng Peak.

Zhong Maoshan 中茅山, see Middle Mao Peak.

Zhushu 朮墟, see Shuxu 述墟.

APPENDIX 1

THE ELEVENTH FASCICLE OF *DECLARATIONS* (DZ 1016, 11)¹

稽神樞 [一] (真誥卷之十一)

《11.1a》Golden Hills is the fat and lard [formed by the] Grotto Barrens, and is the earth lungs of Gouqu.² Millions tread upon this [place], but not one recognizes [its true identity].

Lord Baoming revealed this text. [Yang] most likely wrote this sometime before the sixth lunar month of 365 CE as this refers to events of 364 CE, the year in which this mountain received the blessings [of the revelations]. Since the fields at this location are so fecund, it is said to have “fat and lard.” Whenever it is inundated with water [the mountain] floats [atop its surface]; thus is called the “earth’s lungs.” For many generations people have roamed throughout [the mountain] but no one has known much about this place.

金陵者，洞虛之膏腴，句曲之地肺也。履之者萬萬，知之者無一。〈保命君授作此言。按授此應在乙丑年六月已前，甲子歲中事，始論此山受福之端也。其地肥良，故曰膏腴。水至則浮，故曰地肺。曆世遊踐，莫有知其處者。〉

The couloirs of Gouqu are sinuous (*qu*), yet have tremendous capacity (*rong*). This is why people in antiquity called the [nearby] hamlet, Jurong.³ You must travel one hundred fifty *li* downriver in order to reach this place.

¹ SKKK, 392–434; ZHDZ, 2.179c–87a. A special thanks to Chang Chao-jan for help preparing this translation. His guidance in reading this was a true blessing.

² I have chosen to translate Jinling 金陵 as “Golden Hills” rather than Schafer’s “Golden Tumuli” (*Mao Shan in T’ang Times*, 2–3) to reflect Yang’s understanding of the word (see Yang’s quotation of the *Hetu neiyuan jing* 河圖內元經 [The inner prime scripture of the River Chart] below). Nevertheless, Schafer’s reading of *ling* in its narrower sense of “burial mounds” is plausible since both Yang and Tao promoted Maoshan as a kind of royal graveyard (see chapter 5, p. 205). Future research on Maoshan’s funerary cultures may prove that “Golden Tumuli” was a more commonplace understanding of the term while Yang’s rendering was of a minority opinion. Tao’s commentary on the “fat and lard” (*gaoyu* 膏腴) and “earth lungs” (*difei* 地肺) remained authoritative throughout the medieval era, but note that in later writings the “earth lungs” became “Mount Earth-lung” (*Difei shan* 地肺山), a synonym for Maoshan. For more on the later systematization of the seventy-two “blessed lands” (*fudi* 福地), of which Maoshan was ranked first, see DZ 1032, 27.9a–b [YJQQ, 27.619]; Tanaka, *Senkyō ōrai*, 32–37; Raz, “Daoist Sacred Geography,” 1437.

³ Note that *ju* 句 (of Jurong) and *gou* 句 (of Gouqu) are written with the same character. Yang deployed this graphic evidence as proof that Jurong (Xu’s hometown) and Maoshan (here referred to by its ancient name, Gouqu) were once governed by the same county administration.

From this point onward the words are composed in large purple letters are passages I have culled from the *Mao Sanjun zhuan*.⁴ The transmission of this information is a precious secret and only a few people have been privileged to see it. I have carefully copied down this information to help explain the [revelations] about the mountain; read side-by-side they will help determine [the meanings of the revelations]. Note that this mountain is very sinuous, and cannot be traversed from east to west; this why it is called Gouqu. The ridgeline of [Mao]shan separates two regions. Those to the west and north belong to Jurong; those to the east and south belong to Yanling. Since Jurong is now a county, the place formerly known as Jurong Hamlet no longer exists. 《11.1b》 In ancient times, this was probably near Shuxu. Currently, if one takes off from the Yangzi at Shitou he will travel one hundred fifty-six *li* [before arriving at Maoshan].

句曲山源，曲而有所容。故號為句容里。過江一百五十里，訪索即得。〈凡此後紫書大字者，並茅三君傳所記也。傳既以寶祕，見之者稀。今謹抄取說山事；共相證顯。按山形宛曲，東西遶迴；故曰句曲。從山嶺分界。西及北屬句容。東及南屬延陵。句容既立為縣，故其里不復存。昔時應在述墟左右耳。今山去石頭江水步道一百五六十里。〉

East of the Yangzi River near Golden Hills is a small fen. East of that marsh are the mountains of Jurong.

This is most likely talking about the Golden Hills that is [now called] Moling; it is surely not the Golden Hills that was described as “earth lungs” [above]. The “small fen” is what we know is called Red Mountain Lake (*Chishanhu*). If you are standing at the river and face the mountains, everything is laid out just as it is written here.

江水之東，金陵之左右間小澤。澤東有句曲之山是也。〈此蓋呼秣陵之金陵，非地肺之金陵矣。小澤即謂今赤山湖也。從江水直對望山，東西左右正自如此也。〉

If you were to peer into the Grotto Barrens of this mountain, [you would find] a Spirit Bureau within. [This bureau] has a Grotto-Court that is open on all four sides, [and this point] links to a series of caverns. The ancients called this [Grotto-Court] the “Barrens Terrace of the Golden Platform,” the “Lateral Watchtower of the Celestial Queen,” the “Eastern Window of Clear Vacuity,” and the “Spring Waters of Linwu.” All of the caverns are interconnected and shadowy roads will lead you [throughout] the Seven Courses and Nine Fonts. In every direction you travel, [you will discover] transcendent lodges in perfected grottoes.

This speaks about how all Grotto-Heavens are connected to one another. Celestial Queen is a Perfected Lord of the Cavern of Linwu, which is located beneath the Baoshan at Taihu. This is the place where Elder Longwei obtained the “Five Talismans of Lingbao.”⁵ Qingxu is the name

⁴ In the extant version of Tao's *Declarations*, all words are written in black ink. In Tao's original manuscript, however, there were at least three different colors of ink used. Tao explains his color scheme in more detail in his editor's notes at the end of *Declarations* (DZ 1016, 19.9a–b [SKKK, 681]).

⁵ Raz, “Creation of Tradition,” 165.

of a Grotto-Heaven at Wangwu, and [the caves] of Huayang are also directly connected to these.

此山洞虛內觀，內有靈府。洞庭四開，穴岫長連。古人謂為「金壇之虛臺」，「天后之便闕」，「清虛之東窗」，「林屋之隔沓」。眾洞相通，陰路所適。七塗九源，四方交達，真洞仙館也。〈此論洞天中諸所通達。天后者，林屋洞中之真君，位在太湖苞山下。龍威丈人所入，得《靈寶五符》處也。清虛是王屋洞天名，言華陽與比並相貫通也。〉

The mountains are shaped just like the [curvy-shaped] character “巳,” and that is why we call it Gouqu.

Even today, when you ascend to the Dark Ridge (*xuanling*) of Middle Mao Peak and gaze off into the rising summits around you, the mountains are contorted and swirl around Greater Mao Peak. The mountains first head east, then turn towards the north. After a while they cut to the west 《11.2a》 before heading north again. Finally they traverse the landscape in a northeast direction, until Daheng Peak. If you were to draw [these peaks] starting in the south and ending in the north really would like the character “巳” written in standard script.

山形似己，故以句曲為名焉。〈今登中茅玄嶺，前後望諸峰壘，盤紆曲轉，以大茅為首。東行北轉。又折西行北轉。又折東北行至大橫，反覆南北，狀如左書己字之形。〉

Golden Hills is a place untouched by wars and floods and unharmed by disasters and pestilences. The forty-fourth fascicle [titled] “Yao yuan pian” [Chapter on the essential prime] of the *Hetu* [River chart] says, “Goujin’s platform has mounds running through its center, warding off wars and illnesses, and preventing the rise of floodwaters.”⁶ This is truly a blissful land. Your mind has been enlightened [through this sacred text]; how fortunate for you! Once you have awakened to this enlightenment who will stir you into action?

This *Hetu* is a text that [the sages] Shun and Yu bestowed [to humankind], and is much like the “Luoshu” [Documents of Luo]. There are over forty fascicles still extant. These words [from these ancient texts] were revealed to the senior administrator. When Yang writes about “stirring [Xu] into enlightenment” it refers to Yang’s revelations as causing Xu to begin practicing [the arts of Perfection].

金陵者，兵水不能加，災癘所不犯。《河圖》中〈要元篇〉第四十四卷云：「句金之壇，其間有陵，兵病不往，洪波不登。」正此之福地也。爾心悟焉，是汝之幸！復識此悟，從誰所感發耶？〈此《河圖》者，舜禹所受，及洛書之屬。今猶有四十餘卷存。此語亦是示長史。言相感悟，乃從楊君宣說吾之所啟發矣。〉

⁶ The *Hetu* and *Luoshu* were diagrams illustrating the entire cosmos (Cammann, “The Magic Square of Three,” 37–40). While these texts circulated many centuries prior to the early medieval era, writers began circulating narratives about how these diagrams were revealed to humanity. More on the revelation of these “ancient” texts in this period, see Robinet, “Les marches cosmiques,” 83–85; Kamitsuka, *Rikuchō Dōkyō*, 379–85.

Atop the peaks of Gouqu are places of the Golden Hills. In total there are thirty-seven or thirty-eight *qing* with the earth lungs of Golden Hills [beneath it]. There the earth is fecund and the well water has a sweet taste. If you live [on these spots] you will definitely transcend this world and witness Great Peace. The *Hetu neiyuan jing* [Scripture on the inner prime of the River Chart] says, “Then there are earth lungs; with soil fine and water clear. The peak(s) of Gouqu; the hills of the Golden Platform.⁷ Where liberation may [be found]; by rising through the sinuous city.” 《11.2b》 The “Zhongpian” [Middle fascicle] of the *Hetu* says, “The mountains of Goujin have hills (*ling*) preventing the onset of wars and diseases, as well as encroaching flood waters.” This is why it is called [Golden Hills].⁸

The [second] passage from the *River Chart* is nearly the same as the words of the “Chapter on the Essential Prime” above. While the way the mountain terrace is described is a bit different, the meaning is in essence the same. These descriptions of Golden Hills convey to the reader all the miraculous details of this land, but this does not necessarily mean that other places are as equally amazing.

句曲山，其間有金陵之地。地方三十七八頃，是金陵之地肺也。土良而井水甜美，居其地必得度世見太平。《河圖內元經》曰：「乃地肺，土良水清。句曲之山、金壇之陵，可以度世，上昇曲城。」又《河圖》〈中篇〉曰：「句金之山，其間有陵，兵病不往，洪波不登。」此之謂也。〈後所稱《河圖》，即是前〈要元篇〉語。雖山壇字異，其理猶同。此蓋指論金陵地肺一片地能如此耳，其餘處未必有所免辟耳。〉

In ancient times, Golden Hills was known as the land of the Fulong [Crouching dragon]. The author of the *Hetu* investigated the ancient records of the seasonal cycles to determine the names by which these places would later be known. The name Golden Hills has been in use now for over two hundred years.

In searching for the origins of the place name Golden Hills, I have determined that it was first used during the time of Chu (c. fourth century BCE) and was changed to Moling when Qin [Shi]huang relished in the *qi* [of this place] upon crossing the [Yangzi] River.⁹ In the Han dynasty, the county seat was moved to its original location at Lesser Danyang. To this day we still refer to this place as the “old county seat.” In 282 CE, the

⁷ Up until this point this quotation matches one attributed to *Hetu* in a tenth century encyclopedia: “Then there are earth lungs; with soil fine and water clear. The peak(s) of Gouqu; the hills of the Golden Platform.” 乃有地肺，土良水清。句曲之山，金壇之陵。 *TPYL*, 170.4a [p. 956]. This alternate version, however, lacks the subsequent couplet concerning “liberation” (*dushi* 度世) in the “sinuous city” (*qucheng* 曲城). This latter term likely refers to the winding corridors of palaces thought to exist below Maoshan’s surface. It is probably an adaptation of the phrase “qucheng” 曲成 by which ancient writers referred to the “perfect completion of the cosmos.” See *DKW*, 5.956c–d.

⁸ While this quotation in *Declarations* is attributed to the *Heshu* 河書 [River documents] I have changed it to *Hetu* based on the same quote recorded in the sixth century *Wushang biyao* (DZ 1138, 4.9b [ZHDZ, 28.11b]). There the revelation is attributed to Gu Huan’s *Daoji jing*.

⁹ Qin Shihuang’s journey through the Nanjing region will be discussed in more detail below. This particular event is recorded in Yu Pu’s third century CE “Jiangbiao zhuan” where Qin Shihuang praised the topography of Moling and claimed that heaven had determined (*ming* 命) that this spot should become a metropolis. Subsequently, the emperor ordered a series of ridges (*lian gang* 連岡) to be leveled. See *Sanguozhi*, 53.1245.

region was split in two along the Huai River and Maoshan was placed under the jurisdiction of the southern half. In 413 CE, the [capital] was moved to Douchang, and in 419 CE, it was moved back to its current location at Golden Hills of the Jiangdong region.¹⁰ Legend has it that over two hundred years ago, this was the place that Sun Quan sent people to gather gold. [These men] lived together at Fulong, and this is why the name [Golden Hills] was used. Naturally the fame of the gold here became known far and wide, just as the *River Chart* had long ago predicted.

金陵，古名之為伏龍之地。《河圖》逆察，故書記運會之時，方來之定名耳。至於金陵之號，已二百餘年矣。〈尋金陵之號，起自楚時，至秦皇過江厭氣，乃改為秣陵。漢來縣舊治小丹陽。今猶呼為故治也。晉太康三年，割淮水之南屬之。義熙九年，移治鬪場。元熙元年，從還今處，此是江東之金陵耳。傳所言二百餘年者，是吳孫權使人採金，屯居伏龍山，因名金陵。自然響會，所以歎《河圖》之逆兆也。〉

During the Qin dynasty, Mount Gouqu was known as the Goujin Platform, which referred to a golden platform inside the Grotto-Heaven one hundred *zhang* in size. Beyond [the platform] 《11.3a》 is Jijin Peak, and the platform was named in honor [of the gold] at Jijin. In the days of Zhou the fonts and marshes [in this part of the mountain] were called as “The Caves of Winding Water.” Since the mountains also were circuitous, people in later times agreed that the mountain should be called Gouqu (“Hooked and Winding”). In the days of the Han the three Mao brothers came to serve as officials here. The elders [of that generation] changed the name to the mountain of Lord Mao. The three brothers then each took flight on a white swan and alighted at the top of one of three peaks. When the people saw this miracle they celebrated it in song. After seeing the white swans alight on the different peaks of Maoshan, they divided [the range] into three mountains: a Greater Lord Mao, Middle Lord Mao, and Lesser Lord Mao. Truth be told, these three peaks are really only one mountain, Mount Gouqu—there should be no other name. The three Mao peaks rise one after the other and really all belong to Mount Gouqu. Sometimes people have used metaphors to describe this mountain so now we often see over ten different names. This has not always been the case.

We currently refer to the southernmost and tallest peak as Greater Lord Mao. In the center of the mountain range are three peaks in a row. The one right behind [i.e., to the north] of the tallest peak is Middle Lord Mao. Further north is a lone peak 《11.3b》 with many rocks piled on top of it; this is Lesser Lord Mao [Peak]. The space between Greater and Middle Mao [Peaks] is called Long Buttriss (*Chang’e*). Heading east [from Long Buttriss] will take you to the sinuous buttresses of Yanling, and heading west you lead you to Jurong and Hushu.¹¹ Some have thought that the line of boulders [near Jijin] along the Horse Ridge [i.e., a horse path] looks like

¹⁰ I have changed the name Quechang 闕場 to Douchang 鬪場 based on the administrative geographic records of the *Songshu*, 35.1029. Tao’s dates on the move of the capital to Douchang are identical to those in the *Songshu*.

¹¹ I follow Yoshikawa and Mugitani’s suggestion (*SKKK*, 394n3) to read *jiu* 就 as a scribal error for *shu* 孰, as in Hushu 湖孰, the prominent military stronghold ten kilometers southeast of present-day Nanjing (*Sanguo zhi*, 57.1340). I also follow their suggestion that the *gou* 句 before *qu* be removed since this should be describing a distant destination, not a part of Maoshan. The removal of *gou* maintains a parallel structure with the latter part of the sentence.

an embankment.¹² The space between the Middle and Lesser Mao is called Lesser Buttress (*Xiaoe*). It has a western and eastern orientation similar to Long Buttress and there is a small horse ridge connecting its two sides. Beyond Lesser Mao are mountains like Leiping, Yankou, Fangyu, Daheng, and Liangchang, but they are no part of the chain and much closer to the place where the Gang Conduit was blasted.¹³ From Greater Mao [Peak] southward are mountains like Jiu Peak, Zhuwu Peak, and Fang Peak.¹⁴ Past that is Diezhang, which will take one to the mountains of the Wuxing area, Luofu, and finally the Southern Seas.¹⁵

句曲山，秦時名為句金之壇，以洞天內有金壇百丈，因以致名也。外又有積金山，亦因積金為壇號矣。周時名其源澤為「曲水之穴」。按山形曲折，後人合為句曲之山。漢有三茅君來治其上。時父老又轉名茅君之山。三君往曾各乘一白鵠，各集山之三處。時人互有見者，是以發於歌謠。乃復因鵠集之處，分句曲之山為大茅君、中茅君、小茅君三山焉。總而言之，盡是句曲之一山耳；無異名也。三茅山隱山(山*連)相屬，皆句曲山一名耳。時人因事而論，今故有枝條數十作別名。舊不爾也。〈今以在南最高者為大茅山，中央有三峰，連岑鼎立。以近後最高者為中茅山。近北一岑孤峰，上有聚石者為小茅山。大茅、中茅間名長阿。東出通延陵曲阿，西出通句容湖孰。以為連石積金山，馬嶺相帶，狀如埭形。其中茅、小茅間名小阿。東西出亦如此。有一小馬嶺相連。自小茅山後去，便有雷平、燕口、方嶠、大橫、良常諸山，靡迤相屬，垂至破罡瀆。自大茅南復有葦山、竹吳山、方山。從此疊障，達于吳興諸山，至于羅浮，窮於南海也。〉

There is gold in the mountains [of Maoshan]. The Han Emperor Ling ordered prefectural and county officials to mine for gold here in order to fill military coffers. [Less than a century later] Sun Quan ordered members of his bodyguard to go dig the gold, and there were regular shipments made to officials [in the capital]. One hundred families of the military [guarding the excavators] settled near Fulong that is why this village was later renamed Golden Hills. Since the *Hetu* was calculated in antiquity it is truly miraculous [that it could predict the future].

Currently, south of Greater Mao Peak are a number of mines and giant pits that locals call the Golden Well (*Jinjing*). This should be the place where Sun Quan ordered the men to mine [gold]. There are many places east of this peak where we now find shards of rock containing gold dust. It is said

¹² While the location of these stones is uncertain there is a valley running southwest from Jijin peak that might have been dammed. See MAP 6, G-2. The Horse Ridge (*maling* 馬嶺) was a path running from Long Buttress all the way along the western faces of Jijin, Middle Mao, and Lesser Mao peaks. A similar path still exists today.

¹³ This refers to the establishment of a major waterway between Maoshan and Jurong undertaken by Chen Xun 陳勳 in 245 CE. See *Jiankang shilu*, 2.49.

¹⁴ According to Yang Shihua (*Maoshan Daojiao zhi*, 270) these three mountains are all southwest of Greater Mao Peak, roughly among the peaks located on MAP 2, E-5, but I have not been able to locate their exact location.

¹⁵ Wuxing 吳興 is the medieval name for present-day Huzhou 湖州, a city on the south banks of Grand Lake (Taihu 太湖) approximately one hundred fifty kilometers southeast of Maoshan. Luofu shan 羅浮山 is a range of mountains in present-day Guangdong province, about one hundred thirty kilometers north of Hong Kong (see MAP 1, G-5). Medieval writers celebrated this mountain range as a conducive environment to engage in Daoist arts, especially alchemy. See Soymié, "Le Lo-feou chan."

that the soldiers [who guarded the gold-mining operations] all lived at Fulong, but this place no longer exists. There is only the hamlet Shuxu nearby to the west, which in the old days was called Zhuxu. “Good people” [i.e., Daoists] now live here. About ten *li* 《11.4a》 south of Shuxu nearer Greater Mao Peak is the Wucun village, which contains the name [of the Wu dynasty]. While all of these places seem [like plausible locations of Fulong], none have any relationships [with the gods] in the Golden Hills. Northwest of Xu Mi’s residence, near the Small Ridge of Changyin, I have often found numerous pieces of old broken pottery and charred red earth. I suspect it is a site where a person once lived, but the site has been ploughed over and no foundation survives nor, in the end, was there any [sign of a] well. I fear that, like the senior administrator’s well, it has been filled with dirt and disappeared. Furthermore, there are no traces of past mining at Daheng Peak or Lesser Mao Peak, while both Jijin and Greater Mao Peaks do have traces [of ancient miners]. I am still befuddled by these conflicting accounts.

山生黃金，漢靈帝時，詔勅郡縣，採句曲之金，以充武庫。逮孫權時，又遣宿衛人採金，常輸官。兵帥百家遂屯居伏龍之地，因改為金陵之墟名也。《河圖》已得之於昔，可謂絕妙。〈今大茅山南猶有數深坑大坎，相傳呼之為金井。當是孫權時所鑿掘也。今此山近東諸處碎石往往皆有金砂。云兵帥仍屯居伏龍，今則無復有。唯小近西有述墟，昔乃名朮墟。今是良民。述墟前十數里，大茅有吳墟村，以號而言，乃欲相似，而復不關金陵。長史宅西北近長隱小岡下，乃時有故破瓦器，焦赤土甚多，疑是人居處。既經耕墾，基域不復存，而了無井，亦恐如長史井堙沒耳。又小茅、大橫不見採金處，大茅、金井若是，復不應頓如此遠居，二三疑昧。〉

The soil of Golden Hills is like that of Beimang and the Beiguguan. It is has great tilth and can support grain crops quite well. You can also dig out a well fairly easily and the flavor of the water is quite similar to that from the wells at Fengmen outside of Chang’an. This is because waves hidden deep in clear fonts gradually seep out from the fonts of the grottoes. The water is white, and even those who do not study the Dao will end up living to a very old age merely by living here and drinking the water. It is probably from the fact that this water passes through the secretions of the Golden Ford before one drinks it. Please, you [who possess this text], do not reveal this information to anyone else. I have a chronicle that will detail this information; I will reveal it to you in time.

This is a revelation from Lord Dinglu was disclosed to Xu in secrecy.¹⁶ Mount Beimang is located many *li* north of Luoyang. Beiguguan is the same place as Mengjinguan. The soil in these places is a mixture of yellow and black and is extremely fertile. Fengmen is the northern gate of Chang’an. While Maoshan is compared to these fertile lands, it is no longer being farmed and no one digs wells here for permanent residences. This is because people have not studied [the revelations], and the result of spirits 《11.4b》 who are protective of their land. Consequently, it is not easy to find such quality pieces of real estate. As for the “I have a chronicle,” this is in reference to the *Traditions of the Three Mao [Brothers]*. Note that in 364 CE, Xu Mi said that he had not yet seen this text firsthand, so it was probably

¹⁶ I follow Yoshikawa and Mugitani’s reading the variant *shi* 示 (“disclose; reveal”) rather than *er* 爾.

bestowed around this time. It might have even been first revealed in 363. Within this hagiography we likewise read about the fertile land [of Maoshan] and how living here enables one to transcend this mortal realm. This is why [Lord Dinglu] mentions the chronicle here.

金陵之土，似北邙及北谷關土，堅實而宜禾穀。掘其間作井，正似長安鳳門外井水味。是清源幽瀾，洞泉遠沽耳。水色白，都不學道，居其土，飲其水，亦令人壽考也。是金津潤液之所溉耶。子其祕之。吾有傳紀，具載其事；行當相示。〈定錄君受作，密令爾許侯。北邙山在洛陽北數里。北谷關即孟津關也。土色黃黑而肥腴。鳳門即長安北門也。今所擬金陵地，並無土種植及住止鑿井者。乃是無知察，亦為真靈愛護。不使輕得居焉。「吾有傳紀」者，即是《三茅傳》也。按長史甲子年書云：「未見傳記」，則噉此書時或在癸亥年中也。傳中亦稱良土甘美，居之度世，故因此而顯言也。〉

This place is very small, and of the ten *qing* [of land for construction] only six or seven sites are both high and level. If you understand the meaning [of these revelations], you will have much clearer insight in examining the topography [of Maoshan]. Therefore do not neglect what I have disclosed.

Lord Baoming revealed, “According to *Traditions* there are thirty-seven or thirty-eight *qing* of inhabitable space at Maoshan.” This figure must represent the total outline of the space for there are, according to this record, only about ten. The land “on high and level” ground represents those places that one could construct a residence. If you ascend to these spots you will have a scenic view as described [in the revelation]. From these [texts] you should be able to gain a general idea of the whereabouts [of good sites]. If you are a transcendent or perfected who has passed from the world or even a seed person, you are guaranteed to arrive here. But lacking this allotment you will act in vain if you attempt to build a chamber [here]. No [esoteric] formula will help you.¹⁷ You would be better off to move somewhere else. Of all the misdeeds none are greater than hearing these [revelations] yet building wherever you please.

地處少少耳，隱略十餘頃許，高而平者，六七頃也。既知其要，覩其形勢，便朗朗也。故不曲示耳！〈保命君告：「按傳中云：金陵之地方三十七八頃」。恐是其大垠所至，至於實錄，正當十餘頃耳！高平者是可住處也。會登其地，依說觀望。自可領略，粗知其處。若為仙真度世及種民者，無患不自然得至。苟其非分，徒攜手築室，必當諸方不立，趣使移去耳。悠悠凡猥，勿承此強欲居之。〉

On both the eastern and western sides of Golden Hills are valleys where water bursts forth from their fonts. [Those fonts] on the left [i.e., east] side of [Golden] Hills are [high] in the mountains, but to the right [i.e., west] are springs called Willow Vale (*Liugu*). And on the

¹⁷ “Esoteric formula” is a loose translation for *zhu fang* 諸方 [various recipes]. In his *Baopuzi*, Ge Hong uses the same phrase to describe the various kinds of books that circulated in his day listing out esoteric techniques associated with transcendent beings. See *Baopuzi neipian*, 271; Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, Religion*, 252.

west of [Golden] Hills are springs called Sun Vale (*Yanggu*).¹⁸ The “Fudi zhi” [Monograph on blissful lands] from the *Ming shan nei jing* [Inner scriptures on famous mountains] says, “The place called Fulong is west of Liugu 《11.5a》 and to the right of the Golden Platform you ascend and perch there [i.e., take residence].” Truly Golden Hills is a blissful place.”

Note that what we now call the gushing springs of Willow Vale originates at the Fonts of Duke Tian (*Tiangong quan*) north of Lesser Mao Peak. This water then flows in a southwestern direction, eventually coming to the middle of Shuxu, by which time it is a torrent. As for the spout at Sun Vale, there is no place today with that name. There is, however, a small spout that comes out behind the mountain ridge of Changyin, which likewise flows in a southwestern direction. It eventually meets with the river from the headwater at Fonts of Duke Tian and likewise flows into Shuxu. There is another account recorded among local elders which says, “the font of Sun Vale comes out [in two places]: one in front of Middle Mao and one from behind Greater Mao Peaks. Many rivers converge and produce rapids that then flow out of the mountain in a northwestern direction as a strong torrent.” It is true that the place where two water sources intersect is indeed the site [discussed above]. But Yang speaks here of the left and right because it was probably hard to pinpoint the precise flow of the water. Yet I am still not completely sure if the two fonts I have identified are really the same two as they were known in antiquity. While there has been a constant transmission of this information, the meaning of these accounts has gradually become unclear.¹⁹ There are multiple accounts for the locations of these headwaters and it is unlikely that we will ever be able to determine which is the accurate interpretation.

金陵之左右，汧谷溪源。陵之左有山也，右有源汧名柳谷，陵之西有源汧名陽谷。
《名山內經》「福地誌」曰：「伏龍之地，在柳谷之西，金壇之右，可以高棲。」正金陵之福地也。〈按今呼為柳谷汧者，其源出小茅後田公泉。而西南流至述墟首入大汧。陽谷汧者，今無復其名。而長隱山岡；後有小汧，西流南折，亦會述墟首。又父老云：「陽谷汧源，乃出中茅前大茅後。數川注合為一汧，出山直西行北轉，亦會大汧。」論兩汧相交之內，即是此地。大略東西不得極正，故兼以左右為言。但今之所云二谷，不知即是昔號不。雖有耆相承，傳譯漸失。兼汧源迥異，不必可指的為據也。〉

In high antiquity [Maoshan] was called Gangshan (“Mount Ridge”). The *Kongzi fudi ji* [Confucius’s record of blissful lands] says, “There is a county at Gangshan called Fulong where one is protected from floodwaters and disease.” This [mountain] was also named Gang because it was endowed with the Golden Platform. But hundreds of generations went by without a single person [knowing] its original name. This is fairly remarkable.

¹⁸ Sun Vale (*yanggu* 陽谷) is either a synonym or at least an adaptation of the ancient place name, Sunlight Vale (*Yanggu* 陽谷), the eastern extreme of the world where the sun rises first each morning (see Kroll, “Li Po’s ‘Rhapsody,’” 15n70). Given these possible cosmic associations I suspect that the Sun Vale is a subterranean counterpart to Willow Vale. This interpretation is supported by the subsequent quotation in which Yang Xi pairs Willow Vale with the Golden Platform of the gods. Nevertheless, Tao presumes this name to be a place on the surface of Maoshan, and proposed the springs north of Xu Mi’s hermitage near Changyin peak as a likely candidate. See MAP 5, A-1.

¹⁹ This sentence interpreted by the variant *lao* 老 for *qi* 耆.

Note that northeast of Lesser Mao Peak is a mountain called Daheng Peak. It is said that this mountain used to be called Yugang (“Shadow Ridge”) Peak. This mountain is east of what is now called Fulong, and people nowadays also call the Fulong area Sishegang (“Dead Snake Ridge”). All of the names are probably interrelated. 《11.5b》 Given the length and height of [this ridge] it would probably be best to call it Changyin (“Long Sanctuary”). The character 隱, pronounced *yin*, means “to give sanctuary.” Although this ridgeline is covered in pebbles it is still habitable. [Also] head southeast past the senior administrator’s residence until you arrive at Leiping Peak; there are many fine places to live. This is where Jiang Yuanchou of Yixing and many others have jointly established a field house (*tianshe*) at the foot of [Leiping’s] ridge.²⁰ It is only about four or five *li* away from the senior administrator’s residence.

上古名此山為崗山。《孔子福地記》云：「崗山之間有伏龍之鄉，可以避水辟病長生。」本所以名為崗者，亦金壇之質也。是以百代百易，非復本名。良可歎也。〈按今小茅東北一長大山，名大橫山。云本名鬱崗山。山即在今所謂伏龍之東，世又呼伏龍地，為死蛇崗。亦粗有彷彿。又見其長而高，益呼為長隱。隱音於覲切，其言可隱障也。此崗山雖多細石，亦可居耳。近東南取長史宅，至雷平間，甚有可住處，義興蔣員葛等。今並立田舍於崗下，近去長史宅四五里。〉

The Golden Court of Tongbo in the country of Yue and the Golden Platform of Gouqu in the country of Wu are both blissful realms where one can cultivate Perfection, and [access] Spirit Barrens where one can become a god. In the time of Yao [c. 2300 BCE] there was deluge in which five times [the normal amount of water] spilled into the Eastern Seas, and humans passed away as if they had fallen to [Lord] Wuan’s armies.²¹ Follow me into the shrouded gates of the Grotto Terrace and may these [revelations] serve as a guide to you rambling [in the Grotto-Heaven].

This was proclaimed by the king of the right, the perfected being, Wang [Ziqiao], and revealed in secret to the Xu family. This [king], the perfected [being] of Tongbo and an attendant of Dichen, spoke of how these two places were the only blissful lands of gold in all of Wu and Yue. As for [Lord] Wuan, he was a general during the rise of the Qin dynasty who rose up in arms against the state of Zhao and ordered the deaths of forty thousand men in a single day at Changping. There has never been such a cruel and inhumane display of aggression since this time. The author uses these two allusions in order to reinforce that these blissful lands are not subject to floods and disease. This is because gods and Perfected Beings protect the lands surrounding the Grotto-Heaven. Thus even if three

²⁰ For more on Jiang, see chapter 5, pp. 200–1.

²¹ After capturing the state of Chu for the Qin in 278 BCE, Bai Qi 白起 (d. 257 BCE) was given the title Lord of Wuan (Wuan jun 武安君). In subsequent decades Bai led invasions into northeastern China, most notably into the Shangdang Commandery 上黨郡 to battle rival state of Zhao. This military campaign, commonly known as the Battle of Changping 長平, ended in 260 BCE when Baiqi ambushed the Zhao army resulting in a decisive victory for Qin. According to Sima Qian, before leaving the battlefield, Bai had over 400,000 soldiers executed, the massacre that inspired the analogy in this passage. See *Shiji*, 73.2331.

calamities befell the surrounding areas at one time, the blissful lands would not be touched. The previous five entries were written by Yang [Xi].

越桐柏之金庭，吳句曲之金陵，養真之福境，成神之靈墟也。五倍堯水東海傾，人盡病死武安兵，其如予何？由我帶近洞臺之幽門，恃此而彷彿耳。〈右弼王真人授，令密示許侯。此即桐栢帝晨所說，言吳越之境唯此兩金最為福地者也。武安者，秦將白起擊趙於長平，一日坑殺四十萬人。古來兵傷莫復酷此。故別引之為喻，斯蓋所謂兵病不往，洪波不登矣。既帶近洞天，神真限衛，故能令三災不干。右前來至此五條，楊書。〉

The entire world has thirty-six Grotto-Heavens, and the peaks of Gouqu rank in eighth place. 《11.6a》 This Grotto-Heaven is one hundred fifty *li* in circumference, and is called the Heaven of the Golden Platform at Florescent Solarity.

The hagiography [of Mao Ying] only records up to the tenth Grotto-Heaven. But when we think of the caverns at Fengdu, the Five Marchmounts, the eight seas of the spirits, and the distant lands of the Yi and Di peoples, we know that this list is much longer and [Yang] did not list them all.

大天之內有地中之洞天三十六所，其第八是句曲山之洞。週迴一百五十里，名曰金壇華陽之天。〈傳中所載至第十天。并及酆都、五岳、八海神仙、遠方夷狄之洞，既非此限，並不獲疏出。〉

The Grotto Barrens have four layers of walls, and the ceiling and floor are made of rock. There is a level area at the top that is right below the ground; there is about thirteen or fourteen *li* separating this area from the ground above.

The distance between the ground and the caverns below should be the distance from the cave and the highest point of the mountain.²²

洞墟四郭上下皆石也。上平處在土下；正當十三四里而出上地耳。〈此當是至太山頂為言也。〉

The area [of the Grotto] is flat and rectangular with a distance from east to west of forty-five *li*, and from north to south of thirty-five *li*. The space of the inner cavern is one hundred seventy *zhang*, and the bottom cavern one hundred *zhang*. At the bottom [of the Grotto] is a level plain surrounded by hills; it is covered by a flat ceiling.

When [Yang writes] that the upper space is one hundred seventy *zhang* and the lower space is one hundred *zhang*, it means that the space in the center of the cavern to the ceiling is that distance for the sides of the cavern space taper off on all sides. When it says that the ceiling is flat it means that there are no convex or concave points, but it doesn't mean that it is as flat as a board. Finally, if you were to ascend to hills [surrounding the center of the Grotto] this would be equivalent to the low points of heaven.

²² Read *tai* by the variant reading *da* 大.

東西四十五里，南北三十五里，正方平。其內虛空之處一百七十丈，下處一百丈。下壙猶有原阜壠偃；上蓋正平也。〈向云高處一百七十丈，下處一百丈，則是中央高，四邊漸下。今云上蓋正平，是言其質平，無凹凸處耳，非直去如板也。亦可是登隴阜之上，則於天為下耳。〉

Inside the grotto is a Shadowy Radiance shining in the darkness; this root of the solar essence shines throughout the space as if it were bright as the sun and moon. The Shadowy Radiance shines during the night, while the Solar Quintessence shines during the day. Their shapes are round, like the sun and moon, 《11.6b》 and fly throughout that mystic space.²³

Note that the sun and moon of all Grotto-Heavens are described with this terminology and there is little difference from one grotto to the next. This [subterranean sun and moon] are formed when the sun and moon of our sky shine down and their essences [penetrate the ground] reaching the grotto. When others speak of the rise and fall [of the subterranean sun and moon] they are referring to the fact that the light of the cavern mimics the rise and fall [of the sun and moon], above ground. Our sky is gigantic and goes on without end, but the space of the grotto has limits easily seen. Thus the flight of these [subterranean orbs] will likewise have a definite starting and ending point. It is likely that the [subterranean sun and moon] appear and disappear suddenly as opposed to entering and exiting a hole. But [all conclusions] must wait until we know their actual size.

其內有陰暉夜光；日精之根照此空內，明並日月矣。陰暉主夜，日精主晝。形如日月之圓，飛在玄空之中。〈按諸洞天日月皆各有此名，亦小小不同。蓋猶是大天日月分精照之。既云晝夜，便有出沒，亦當與今日月同其明晦。今大天崖畔了不得窮，此小天邊際殆可捫覩？日月出入，則應有限。當是忽然起滅，不由孔穴。但未知其形若大小耳。〉

In all, the Grotto Palace of Gouqu has five gates—two lateral gates in the south, one in both the west and east, and one large lateral gate in the north.²⁴ All five lateral gates are [inter-] connected.

The large cave at the south of [Mao]shan is the southwestern gate, and the southeastern gate should be in Bozhi Mounds. The northern Liangchang cave is the great lateral gate of the north. The whereabouts of the western and eastern gates are unknown, but Middle Lord [Mao] once said, “The eastern gate is east of Middle Mao Peak near a gulch leading to Lesser Mao Peak. If the Grotto-Heaven is accessed through this gate, the distance one must travel is the shortest, but the opening is the smallest.

²³ Part of this passage is translated in *Schafer, Mao Shan*, 6.

²⁴ The term lateral gate (*bianmen* 便門) was a term coined centuries earlier as the name of one of the three large gates in the Former Han capital, Chang'an. There are various interpretations of how the name “lateral gate” was invented. Some say lateral (*bian*) referred to the fact that this gate was at the side rather the center. Others claimed that lateral was a synonym for level (*ping* 平) while still others claimed its named derived from the fact it was next to a bridge. See *Sanfu huangtu jiaoshi*, 1.82. Here the term simply reinforces the notion that the Grotto-Heaven must be accessed by secretive and hidden gates placed on the periphery of Maoshan's peaks.

Furthermore, there is a rock blocking the entrance.” There will be more detail [about these caves] below. The lateral gate on the western face of Maoshan should also be like this [i.e., blocked] and is likely located at a place locals call Rocky Grave (*Shifen*). It should be equally [as difficult to find]. Also, there are two or three caves at Bozhi, but I fear that the real entrance is not visible. All three gates (east, west, southeast) will ascertain ritual purification in order to ascertain their whereabouts. The outside of the other southern gate is quite large on the outside, but has been completely plugged up, most likely due to they noxious *qi*. There are many spirits that enter and exit from the great northern gate. Perfected and Transcendent beings, on the other hand, do not use any of these five gates for they can quickly [pass through] even when there is no physical [opening]. These five gates were put in place so that people would know that there was a system of mountain caverns [below] and could enter into them.

句曲之洞宮有五門：南兩便門，東西便門，北大便門，凡合五便門也。〈今山南大洞即是南面之西便門，東門似在栢枝隴中，北良常洞即是北大便門，而東西並不顯。中君告云：「東便門在中茅東小茅阿口，從此入至洞天最近，而外口甚小，又以石塞之。」事具在後。則西便門亦當如此，正應在今所呼作石墳處也。栢枝乃有兩三洞口，恐真門外亦不開。此三門，精齋尋之，自可見爾。今南便門外雖大開，而內已被塞，當緣穢炁多故也。北大洞猶有鬼神去來。而真仙人出入都不由五門，皆歛爾無間。設此門者，為示是山洞體製，或外人應入故耳。〉

Inside this vacuous space 《11.7a》 are stone stairs winding their way to the five entrances and provide passage to and from [the Grotto-Heaven]. People who have suddenly found themselves walking into these passages have not understood that this was a Grotto-Heaven and have assumed that this was a path outdoors. The light from the solar and lunar [orbs], as well as the presence of flora and lakes, makes it seem identical to the world above ground. Flocks of birds fly overhead and clouds billow in the wind above, and thus there would be no reason to think that [you are inside a cave]. This is why they say:

The spirit palace of the Grotto-Heaven,
Is miraculous beyond measure.
Those who find it will dare not discuss it,
Those who find it will have no doubts about it.

People who wander the mountains in search of herbs for drugs and mistakenly enter a Grotto-Heaven are very much like this and there is no reason to find the [above revelation] odd in any way. It explains why we never hear about any one entering the Floriate Solarity [Grotto]. The disciples of Zuo Yuanfang, for instance, will simply not discuss [their entry into the caves]. Thus those who are granted entry do not dare speak about it if they return to the [world above ground].

虛空之內，皆有石階，曲出以承門口，令得往來上下也。人卒行出入者，都不覺是洞天之中，故自謂是外之道路也。日月之光既自不異，草木水澤又與外無別。飛鳥交橫，風雲翳鬱，亦不知所以疑之矣。所謂洞天神宮，靈妙無方，不可得而議，不可得而罔

也。〈世人採藥，往往誤入諸洞中，皆如此，不便疑異之。而未聞得入華陽中。如左元放之徒，是所不論。然得入者，雖出亦恐不肯復說之耳。〉

Through the Grotto-Heaven of Gouqu one can find passage on the Great Road to Linwu in the east, Taizong [i.e., Taishan] in the north, Emei in the west, and Luofu in the south. There are also many small paths and roads that crisscross one another and can lead one to hundreds of places. During the *jian'an* era of the Han [196–220 CE] Zuo Yuanfang heard 《11.7b》 of a chronicle which said that there was a divine mountain east of the Yangzi River and that one should cross the river and search for it. [Yuanfang] consequently performed a fast for three months before ascending the mountain, where he found the entrance to the cavern. Having entered into the Grotto Barrens, he came to Shadowy Palace and the three lords bestowed three kinds of divine herbs. Yuanfang subsequently roamed through the Grotto Palace for years. The rooms of this palace were all built with precision and care—it was really amazing. One could hardly expect such an anomaly to occur elsewhere in the world. The spirits and gods pass through here and make judgments on humans much as if they were judges in the courts of men.

According to our knowledge of geography, Linwu is in the southeast and Luofu is in the southwest. Only Taizong and Emei are in the cardinal directions. The direct path connecting these places is about five or six thousand *li* in length. This road should also lead one to the Ying River, where it will pass through the Qingxu Heaven at Wangwu. Yuanfang most likely came here after being urged by [Emperor] Wu of the Wei.²⁵ Elsewhere the Perfected revealed, “If one conducts ritual purification for five years he will be able to enter deep into the inner and outer parts of the Palace.”²⁶ The three kinds of excrescences, I fear, are of a lower quality.

句曲洞天，東通林屋，北通岱宗，西通峨嵋，南通羅浮，皆大道也。其間有小徑雜路，阡陌抄會，非一處也。漢建安之中，左元放聞傳者云江東有此神山，故度江尋之。遂齋戒三月，乃登山，乃得其門，入洞虛，造陰宮，三君亦授以神芝三種。元放周旋洞宮之內經年。宮室結構方圓整肅，甚惋懼也。不圖天下復有如此之異乎。神靈往來，相推校生死，如地上之官家矣。〈今按地域方面，則林屋在東南，羅浮在西南，惟岱宗、峨嵋得正耳。直道亦當五六千里。此路至潁川間，便應徑通王屋清虛天也。元放當是為魏武所逼後仍來。後真授乃云：「清齋五年，然後乃得深進內外宮耳。」三種芝恐是下品者也。〉

About two hundred paces directly south of the northern peak of Liangchang is an entrance to the Grotto Palace. Here you will find two pairs of white jade discs seven *chi* underground that Qin Shihuang buried. There are small round stones 《11.8a》 atop the ridge covering the depression in the earth. Li Si (ca. 280–208 BCE) made the following inscription on the jade discs, “The saintly virtues of Shihuang emblazoned across the mountains and rivers. While on his imperial tour of the Cang River he engraved inscriptions on these white discs.” If you dig in this area you will find these discs. For at every river and mountain that Shihuang

²⁵ See HHS, 82b.2746.

²⁶ Elsewhere in *Declarations* Yang defined the outer palace (*wai gong* 外宮) as the exterior of Maoshan's mountains, he called the caverns within Maoshan's subterranean precincts as the inner palace (*nei gong* 內宮). DZ 1016, 15.1b [SKKK, 550].

encountered, he made an offering of jade discs; the discs at Gouqu are by no means the only ones.

From here on the words that are written in black are the words of Lord Dinglu as revealed to Xu Mi. The original paper on which this was written has been lost and I fear that more was revealed than what is recorded here. In researching the date of the buried discs, I realized that this predated the three Mao Brothers reaching the Dao [i.e., died], yet they were able to acquire knowledge of [this inscription]. This shows that nothing is beyond the comprehension of Perfected Beings. Note that when this same event was written about in [Mao's] hagiography [Qin Shihuang] ascended the mountain, but only buried one pair [of discs]. Maybe a "two" should be inserted in that text, but it is probably just one pair just like the remains of the inscriptions discovered at Yushan.²⁷ If you go to this place today there are two boulders covering this spot, but they are far from small.

良常北垂洞宮口直山嶺，南行二百步。有秦始皇埋藏白璧兩雙，入地七尺。上有小磐石在嶺上，以覆埒處。李斯刻書璧，其文曰：「始皇聖德，章平山河。巡狩蒼川，勒銘素璧。」若掘即可得。始皇所履山川，皆祀以玉璧，不但句曲而已。〈從此後墨書，皆定錄真君授以告長史。掾寫本前紙所失，恐非起端語。尋埋璧時，在三茅得道之前，而後乃具見如此。明真人無所隔蔽矣。按傳所稱，即是登山時，但云一雙為異。或應二字，雙璧之書，亦如禹山所刻作篆跡也。今尋檢其處，亦可見石蓋，亦殊自不小也。〉

On the north side of Maoshan is an entrance to a Grotto[-Heaven] on a mountain called Liangchang. This mountain is connected to the Gouqu range and is referred to by the same name. In the tenth lunar month of 210 BCE, [Qin] Shihuang began a journey, and by the following month he arrived at Yunmeng [reserve] where he made a sacrifice to [former Kings] Yu and Shun at Jiuyi. He next sailed down the Yangzi to make an observance at Jike and crossed over into Meizhu, passed through Danyang, and finally arrived at Qiantang.²⁸ But then the waters of the Zhe swelled 《11.8b》 at an alarming rate, and as a result, the [emperor and his entourage] had to travel by foot westward for one hundred and twenty *li* before turning back east for Kuaiji.²⁹ They crossed up into Kuaiji by means of a dangerous and narrow pass. There [they] performed ceremonies in honor of King Yu of the Xia where they peered out across the Southern Seas, and erected a monument to extol the virtues of Qin. Afterwards Li Si requested to write [an inscription for the monument], and they stopped at various mountains and rivers on their way home. It was at this point that they ascended into

²⁷ For more on Yushan 禹山 see chapter 3, p. 108.

²⁸ The *Shiji* rendering of this passage has Haizhu 海渚 instead of Meizhu 梅渚, but the Haizhu is not a known name (an observation already noted in Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 (fl. 700 CE) *zhengyi* commentary to the *Shiji*, 6.260. Meizhu, on the other hand, is still the name of a small village about eighty kilometers directly south of Maoshan. See MAP 2, G-5. See MAP 8 for the entire route of Qin Shihuang's journey.

²⁹ This was abnormal since it is only a day's journey to cross the Zhe River (present-day Qiantang River) from Qiantang 錢塘 (present-day Hangzhou) and Kuaiji 會稽 (present-day Shaoxing). Given the distance it is likely that the emperor first had to travel southwest and crossing somewhere near present-day Fuyang 富陽, or perhaps even as far west as Tonglu County 桐廬縣.

the northern hanging cliffs of Gouqu and buried a pair of white jade-discs.³⁰ The entourage of officials was treated to a feast by the grace of their leader. The Qin emperor exclaimed, “Of all the joys of this campaign, there is no mountain or sea that produced more [joy than this place]. Let the good (*liang*) of this place last forever (*chang*).” The entourage then shouted in unison, “Long Live [the emperor] and Good-Forever (*Liangchang*).” There were great drums and large bells that resounded together with a myriad of voices singing in chorus throughout the caves of every mountain and marsh. Since all felt blessed by this royal encounter and all things were well, they changed the name of the northern cliffs of Gouqu to Liangchang. The name Liangchang originated with this event.

I have checked the sources and the emperor journeyed to Yunmeng, Danyang, and Zhejiang in the first lunar month of 210. He ascended to Kuaiji where he performed a ritual for King Yu, and looked at the Southern Seas whereupon he had the inscription engraved. On his return, he passed through Wu, crossed at Jiangcheng, followed the northern frontier until he reached Langye, and then Pingyuan.³¹ It was [at the last destination] where he fell ill, and on the *bingyin* day of the seventh month he died at Shaqiu. He was buried at Lishan two months later. 《11.9a》 In this era, there was no canal between Yanling [and the Yangzi], and that is why [the entourage] travelled by foot. They only happened to stop [at Maoshan] for a feast while on their way to Jiangcheng through Jurong. Since they had no purpose to be at Gouqu they simply stayed on the lowlands beneath the northern face. They never proceeded further [south] to the “front ridge.” At the time, no one knew of the mysterious secrets of this mountain. The offering of jade discs was [simply] a common occurrence when holding rites atop mountains. This is why Middle Lord [Mao] said, “For every river and mountain that Shihuang encountered he made an offering of jade discs.” Later on, owners of this property thought the name [Liangchang] merely referred to the [exterior of] the mountain, but the Lesser Lord Mao received a revelation during the reign of Emperor Cheng of the Han (r. 51–7 BCE). [This text] said, “You shall rule over the northern grotto of Liangchang.” It was from his time that [the name Liangchang] referred to the interior as well. Consulting the account of how at Shihuang’s death obsequies were not begun, but rather abalone was ordered loaded in the wagons in order to disrupt the air. From this we can conclude that this must have taken place in the summer months, which tallies with the public records. Now [Mao’s] hagiography states “It was the tenth month, a *jianhai* month, in the thirty-sixth year, first month of the Qin calendar.” This date is reference to his arrival at Yunmeng. Without this additional information it would mean that Qin Shihuang died in the fall of 210.³² But I have yet to make a calendar for the Qin dynasty, and without corroborative evidence I cannot make this emendation.

³⁰ The *shuang* 雙 of this sentence was likely a later addition since Tao points out that in his copy of the manuscript it simply said there was one disc, which he infers to mean a “pair” (*shuang*). I also follow the variant reading of *bei* 北 (“north”) instead of *ci* 此 (“this”).

³¹ The *Shiji*’s reading of *cheng* 乘 for *lai* 來 is preferable since Jiangcheng was a major port during the Qin located directly north of Jurong. See MAP 2, B-3. I have made the same change for the next occurrence of *lai*.

³² Zhang Shoujue, who wrote his commentary to the *Shiji* about two hundred years after Tao came to the same conclusion that the Qin calendar must have started in a *jianhai* (the eleventh lunar) month. *Shiji*, 6.237. I follow Yoshikawa and Mugitani to read *ba* 八 as a scribal error for *liu* 六.

茅山北垂洞口一山名良常山。本亦句曲相連，都一名耳。始皇三十七年十月癸丑，始皇出遊，十一月行至雲夢，祠虞舜於九疑。浮江下，觀藉柯，度梅渚，過丹陽，至錢塘。臨浙江，水波惡，乃至西百二十里。從峽中度，上會稽。祭夏禹，望于南海，而立石刻，頌秦德於會稽山。李斯請書，而還過諸山川。遂登句曲此垂山，埋白璧一雙。於是會群官，饗從駕。始皇歎曰：「巡狩之樂，莫過於山海。自今已往，良為常也。」爾乃群臣並稱壽，喚曰「良為常矣」，又鳴大鼓，擊大鍾，萬聲齊唱，洞駭山澤。讚樂吉兆，大小咸善，乃改句曲北垂曰良常之山也。良常之意從此而名。〈檢外書，始皇三十七年正月，出遊雲夢，丹陽，浙江。上會稽，祭夏禹，望南海，刻石紀功。還遇吳，渡江來，並北海，至瑯瑯，至平原。得病，七月丙寅，崩於沙丘。九月葬驪山。如此之時，皆未有瀆，即是從延陵步道。上取句容江來路仍過停饗設耳。非必故詣句曲，所以止住山北邊下處。遂不進前嶺。且於時亦未驗此山之靈奇。祀璧之意者，為通是望山設。所以中君云：「所履山川，皆祀以玉璧也。」夫號從主人，名由地表。小君以漢成帝時受紫書云：「治于良常北洞。」蓋內因此成稱也。又檢始皇崩不發喪，令車載鮑魚以亂炁，此應夏月中，如外書所說相似。今依傳言，「乃是三十六年十月建亥之月，為秦正月為出遊」，是至雲夢耳。不爾，則是三十八年秋崩也。來作秦曆，不能得定癸丑是何月中。比別更譯正之。〉

On the *wushen* day of the seventh month of the third year [August 10, 22 CE], [the interregnum emperor] Wang Mang ordered his officials to collect one hundred *yi* of gold from the residents of Zhangyi, as well as five measures of bronze to offer to the Transcendent Three Lords of Gouqu.

Wang Mang took gold as his currency and each unit was referred to as *yi*. It was shaped like a coin, but did not have a hole in it. It was a *liang* heavy and could be separated into one thousand parts. A hundred *yi* would have weighed two hundred *liang*.

王莽地皇三年七月戊申，〈此七月二十四日也。〉遣使者章邕賚黃金百鎰、銅鍾五枚，贈之於句曲仙三君。〈王莽制金為貨，名鎰。形如錢無孔。重一兩，直錢一千。百鎰則百兩也。〉

On the *dingsi* day of the third month in the seventh year of the *jianwu* reign, the Han Emperor Guangwu sent officials to collect fifty *jin* worth of gold from Wulun to offer to the Three Lords.³³ This [cache] is buried in a high, remote place on Lesser Mao Peak beneath a pile of rocks. It is about three or four *chi* beneath the ground.

This is now 《11.9b》 a pile of rocks at the highest summit of Lesser Mao Peak. Nothing more is said about these two events in the revelations.

光武建武七年三月丁巳，〈此三月二十四日也。〉遣使者吳倫賚金五十斤，獻之於三君。今並埋在小茅山上獨高處，埒上有聚石，入地三四尺也。〈此則今小茅山積石上最高處是也。此二事不顯真受中。〉

³³ May 4, 31 CE.

In year two of the *yongping* reign [59 CE], the Han Emperor Ming ordered men from the counties [of this] commandery to repair a temple at Danyang for the Perfected Beings of Gouqu, and devise a means to protect it.

According to [Mao Ying's hagiography] when the three lords first attained their Dao, they rode a white swan to the top [of Maoshan]. The people witnessing this were so amazed that they came together to make ritual offerings in honor of this extraordinary event. Thereafter, they set up a temple on the east side of the mountain and called it the White Swan Temple. Every time rites were conducted at these feasts, people heard voices, others saw white swans behind the curtains, and still others hears the sound of dancing and music. There was a great competition among these people to gain admittance to these rites. This temple is now in the Ping'e village on the east side of the mountain. There is a woman surnamed Yin who is a sorceress [there]. She has gone out into all of the villages to the west [of Maoshan] where each [community] has built a temple [in her honor]. The Wuxu Temple west of Greater Mao Peak and the Shuxu Temple atop the northern face of Middle Mao Peak, for instance, jointly host dancing [ceremonies] each year.³⁴ They both engage in bloody sacrifices. While [these temples] should be under the jurisdiction of [Sire] Ximing they are not aware of the connection to the perfected and transcendent officials.

漢明帝永平二年，詔勅郡縣，修守丹陽句曲真人之廟。〈按三君初得道，乘白鵠在山頭，時諸村邑人互見，兼祈禱靈驗。因共立廟於山東，號曰白鵠廟。每饗祀之時，或聞言語，或見白鵠在帳中，或聞伎樂聲。於是競各供侍。此廟今猶在山東平阿村中。有女子姓尹，為祝，逮山西諸村，各各造廟。大茅西為吳墟廟，中茅後山上為述墟廟，並歲事鼓舞，同乎血祀，蓋已為西明所司，非復真仙僚屬矣。〉

On Middle Mao Peak is a lofty spot called Dark Ridge. This mountain is where the director of destinies once buried six thousand *jin* of cinnabar powder [mined at] the Jade Gate of the Western Barbarians. He buried this [cache] two *zhang* underground and covered it on all sides with small boulders. 《11.10a》 There are springs of reddish water with high medicinal value flowing on the eastern and western sides of the peak. Further down on both sides of the peak are small glades that would make an excellent location for a quiescent dwelling. Zuo Yuanfang once beseeched the director of destinies for cinnabar powder, and received twelve *jin*.

There are many large stones to the north and south of this ridge, but I have not found any running springs to the east or west. There is a brook further down the mountain on the southeastern side, as well as a rivulet to the southwest. Moving south from this peak, you will arrive at my residence. There is a bubbling spring on the mountainside nearby that flows year-round, but there is no noticeable red tint to this water. There are many glades where one could live, but only the sites on the eastern and western sides will [function] well as [your residence] since they are near [running]

³⁴ The exact locations are unknown for the temples of Wuxu and Shuxu are unknown, but I have given their approximate positions based on Tao's commentary in MAP 7, C-1 (Wuxu) and MAP 6, C-3 (Shuxu).

brooks. As for Master Zuo asking for cinnabar powder, he probably requested this when he entered into the Grotto-Heaven and cooked nine-flowered cinnabar [elixir]. The previous passage was bestowed upon Yang Xi.

中茅山玄嶺獨高處。司命君埋西胡玉門丹砂六千斤於此山。深二丈許，埕上四面有小盤石鎮其上。其山左右當泉水下流，水皆小赤色，飲之益人。此山下左右亦有小平處，可堪靜舍。左元放時就司命乞丹砂，得十二斤耳。〈今此嶺前後甚多大石，而山上左右無正流水。東南近下有一長澗，西南近下亦有小水。度嶺南隱居住處。近山上有湧泉，冬夏無窮，而水色不甚覺赤耳。平處可住，東西唯當近澗，左右為好。左氏乞丹砂，當是入洞時所請，以合爐火九華丹。右楊書。〉

Because there are stones piled one atop another on a long ridge between Middle Mao and Greater Mao Peaks, [people in] ancient times called it Jijin Peak. It contains much gold and has many places suitable for living. It would be best to find a place with [running] water and build the rooms and chambers [of] your quiescent dwelling. Feel free to pick one of the many places here. You can quickly concoct an elixir that will enable you to cultivate the highest Dao. Between Greater and Middle Mao Peaks there is a long ravine at the base of the mountain running in an east-west [direction]. 《11.10b》 Where [this ravine] exits the mountain is the front of the [subterranean] lodge.³⁵

[The area between Greater and Middle Mao Peaks] is where I currently reside. My home sits atop a ridge that runs traverse to the north-south axis of Maoshan. There are many rare rocks along this ridge that are shaped like strange rings. There are also many caverns entering this ridge that twist and turn deep within the mountain. I often toss offerings into these [caverns], and they seem especially deep. You can hear it clink and clank for a long time as it falls. As for “the many gold deposits” spoken about [in the revelation] these were likely placed here a long time ago by perfected and transcendent beings. To the southwest of this area is a large stone wall sticking straight out of the ground that has a crack down its middle.³⁶ [Passing through the crack] you will find a cavern that goes far back into the mountain, but gradually becomes too narrow to pass through. Even so, you can feel a light breeze [suggesting it passes into a Grotto-Heaven]. There is a bubbling font a few steps [outside the cave] that has clear water flowing year-round; it supplies a station house below.³⁷ There is a mountain brook not far from here that is fed by a bubbling font with a powerful and rapid output. [The water] is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. If you go up to observe [this font] look directly below it and you will see the entrance to a cavern where the water bubbles in a miraculous fashion. [No matter] if there are downpours or severe droughts the water level never changes. The water from this font is off-white, has a

³⁵ Lodge (*guan*) refers to the divine palaces constructed in Maoshan's Grotto-Heaven. Yang Xi called these underground palaces as transcendent lodges (*xianguan* 仙館), and on one occasion described the appearance of the Yiqian Lodge 易遷館 and its female residents in some detail (DZ 1016, 11.1b and 12.14b). Unlike Tao, who regularly used *guan* to refer to his own residence, I know of no such example of *guan* referring to human residences in Yang's revelations.

³⁶ Read variant *bi* 壁 for *bi* 壁.

³⁷ Read *xie* 解 for *jie* 解.

sweet taste, and is very soft. It can be used as an endless water supply. My only regret [about this site] is that it is on the western side of the mountain and thus does not have the eastward flowing [current for alchemical production]. But [I have] yet to put up an embankment to make this water change its course for southeast of the mountains is a stone cavern through which a brook of good quality water flows eastward. This place is well hidden and is a quality location for alchemical practices; it will be discussed below as the place before Jun Peak. It is a real shame that not far from the place that leads to the space is a well-travelled road. The rumbling of carriages and the echoes of men are sounds you could do without. If you could block off this road, the sounds of men and their vehicles would quickly disappear. This is a top-notch location and we should think about how to make a more suitable [atmosphere]. My current abode, as well as the Southern Cave entrance and the senior administrator [Xu's] residence are the best locations to live on this mountain. It is too bad they are out in the middle of nowhere. There are no venomous snakes on [Jijin] mountain. At times blue-green appear, but they pose no threat. There are also very few tigers on this mountain and I have never heard of anyone being attacked by one. No matter if you are a priest or a commoner, you can easily avoid febrile illnesses by living on this mountain. This mountain is spacious and has few dangerous passes; there is little danger [in walking across its landscape]. 《11.11a》 It is too bad that there are no verdant forests that fill the landscape in the summer and winter as there are in the mountains east of here. The virtues you acquire by living here will keep you out of harm's way. In the past few years since moving here I have lit fire to the surrounding forests in order to encourage verdant growth and make this into a pleasing landscape. The mountain produces fine atracylodes and other herbs. The site is exceptionally suited to pine and cypress, but there was before no one to plant them and such trees do not grow on their own. Now you can find them at various places as I have been planting seedlings every year.

大茅山、中茅山相連長阿中有連石，古時名為積金山。此山中甚多金物，其處宜人住。可索有水處為屋室靜舍乃佳。此數處亦任意耳。快可合丹，以修上道。中茅之前，大茅之後，下麓長澗東西，亦出山外對館。〈此即隱居今所住，東面一橫壟也。此壟純絕石，石形甚瓌奇。多穿穴側傍，盤紆下深。乃有無底處，屢投脆物在中間。玲玲之響久之。此云多金物，亦當是久來真仙所投也。西南有大石壁，聳而坼開。內有洞，入數丈漸狹小，不復容人。乃颼颼有風。外數步便有一湧泉，冬夏清流，即下解所資。近外澗口又有一湧泉，水勢乃駛上者。冬溫而夏冷。今正對邏前小近下復有一穴，湧泉特奇。大水大旱，未嘗增減。色小白而甘美柔弱。灌注無窮。但恨在山西，自不得東流耳。亦別開決作東流用之，又渡此嶺東南有一石穴水，東流極好。其處隱障甚可合丹，即後所云菡山之前也。正患去徑路近。車聲人響，殆欲相聞。今若斷此路，不復聽車聲人行。便是第一處，方當思為其宜。茅山住止，惟有隱居今所住，及南洞口，長史宅處乃極好。所恨迴曠。且此一山通無虺蝮毒螫，時有青蛇，都不犯物。虎亦甚少，自古來未聞害人。山居不問道俗，皆少溫病。山德寬容，不到險阻。但恨無青林冬夏常鬱，如東間諸山耳。自隱居住來，燠養成秀，於形望大好。山出好朮并雜藥，絕宜松柏，而本無人植，不容自生。今亦分布，歲種之耳。〉

On all four sides of the Heavenly Market Platform at Maoshan are eight to nine thousand *jin* of pure gold and white jade.³⁸ They are buried about two *zhang* on the western and eastern sides nine *chi* deep. In ancient times the Azure Lad of the Eastern Seas used to ride around on his gale-powered flying-wheel carriage. He is said to have visited all the Grotto-Heavens and at that time made a stop at this mountain. There is spring water to the east and west of this mountain that is filtered through the gold and jade. If you can find a relatively stable plot [of land], it would be wonderful to build your quiescent dwelling there. Drinking the water [flowing through this site] will aid you in your concentration [while] concocting elixirs. The rock that serves as the Market of Heaven Platform marks the center of the Grotto-Heaven and is directly above the mystic window. This rock was taken from the Market of Heaven Mountain in the country of Parthia, and therefore it is known as the Market of Heaven Boulder. In the time of Xuandi, gods 《11.11b》 from all corners of the world were called to come and place boulders on top of the Grotto-Heavens; the [Grotto-Heaven] at Gouqu was by no means the only one. When transcendent beings gathered atop the platform they were above the center of the mystic window of the Grotto Palace. There is a vacuous space deep inside Gouqu we call of the Transcendent Bureau of the Grotto Terrace. In the time of Xuandi gods from all corners of the world were ordered to move precious jade and other unpolished stones from the country Parthia to fill up the center of the mystic window of the Grotto-Heaven. The Azure Lad of the Eastern Seas rode on his gale-powered flying-wheel carriage and visited all mountains with Grotto Terraces at which time he buried between eight to nine thousand *jin* of pure gold and white jade on all four sides of the boulders. [This cache] helped fortify the ridgelines along the Shadowy Palaces. All of the Grotto-Heavens are like this, not just Gouqu. The villagers claim that the Market of Heaven Boulder is the assembly platform for the transcendent beings. Few have ever sought to find [this place, and those] who have wandered [to find it] know nothing [of its whereabouts]. The traces of the Azure Lad's gale wheel can still be seen today.

I have been able to interpret all of the records concerning the mountains of Gouqu 《11.12a》 except the boulder at the Heavenly Market Platform, [a place] whose whereabouts are still unknown. I will not even begin to propose where traces of [the Platform] might lie, but my guess is that it should be somewhere near Greater Mao Peak. I am sure that any of its abnormal features have been worn away, or perhaps it has been overgrown with weeds or covered with dirt. It is hard to say. According to [Lord] Baoming, every time Zhao Cheng ascended to the platform to whistle, the wind and clouds would lift him up. Surely this could not have happened in a low-lying place. Clouds are typically seen flying over the mountain, and these invariably originate in the northern folds of Greater Mao Peak. It should be a high and remote place at any rate. The Perfected Beings are said to always drive nine dragons. The steeds on their left are called their “gale”; those on the right are their “squall.” [Given the direction], they must be using the steeds on their right. If you currently head eastward on the road that leads from the ridge of Greater Mao Peak you will see flat area next to the mountain. It looks as if humans leveled it for it is wide enough for carriages to pass through. There is a legend telling that these

³⁸ Yang Xi explained that the name for the Heavenly Market Platform originated in that the rock that marked this spot was long ago transported from a mountain in Parthia (*Anxi* 安息) called the Heavenly Market Mountain. According to Yang this stone hovered above the center of the Grotto-Heaven beneath Maoshan. See DZ 1016, 12.2b [SKKK, 437].

are the traces of a “gale-wheel,” and this [unlike the platform] is still visible. The stone platform is nowhere to be seen, and it is hard to guess where the gold and other precious stones are buried. Supposing that [the platform] is at the top of the mystic window at the center of the Grotto-Heaven, it is unlikely that [the platform] would be near the Southern Gate so it must be somewhere near Middle Mao Peak. The elders of the nearby villages do not even know where the Market Platform of the transcendent beings is located. I have been on this mountain seven or eight years, but I still have not travelled on every path [at Maoshan]. How could a mere mortal possibly conduct a thorough investigation? [For all of those] sites I have yet to explore it pains me [to think] that I have had no close companion to traverse the dangerous mountain paths together.³⁹ “Walking by myself” makes me feel “alone and forlorn.”⁴⁰ So I have brought my wandering to a halt, though I am ever regretful of [this decision]. Hopefully in the near future I can pick my walking stick back up and roam through the mountains by myself; there are still so many details about things I have heard or read [that I would like to explore further].

茅山天市壇四面皆有寶金白玉各八九千斤。去壇左右二丈許，入地九尺耳。昔東海青童君曾乘獨颺飛輪之車。通按行有洞天之山，曾來於此山上矣。其山左右有泉水，皆金玉之津氣。可索其有小安處為靜舍乃佳。若飲此水，甚便益人，精可合丹。天市之壇石，正當洞天之中央，玄窗之上也。此石是安息國天市山石也，所以名之為天市盤石也。玄帝時，召四海神使運此盤石於洞天之上耳；非但句曲而已。仙人市壇之下，洞宮之中央窗上也。句曲山腹內虛空，謂之洞臺仙府也。玄帝時，召四海神，使運安息國天市山寶玉璞石，以填洞天之中央玄窗之上也。東海青童君曾乘獨颺飛輪之車，通按行有洞臺之山，皆埋寶金白玉各八九千斤於市石左右四面。以鎮陰宮之嶺。諸有洞天皆爾，不但句曲而已。邑人呼天市盤石為仙人市壇。是其欲少有彷彿而不了了也。青童颺輪之迹，今故分明。〈句曲之山諸記說，今悉分明，唯天市壇石未知的何所在。以論迹而言，隱量正應大茅左右。而踐行不見其異處，或恐為土木蕪沒。所不論耳。按保命、趙承每登壇長嘯，風雲立至。此則不應在小處。長見雲氣出入，恒先起大茅北陰。此或當高而陰故也。夫真人常御九龍。左驂名颺，右服名欸。既履山頂，故指乘其右驂。今大茅嶺上向東行，有路傍山平治。狀如人功，足通軌轍。相傳皆呼此為颺輪迹，乃無埋沒。石壇既未顯，金寶亦難測。所埋又疑洞天中央玄窗之上，不應乃近南門，復恐在中茅間。邑人耆老亦不復知仙人市壇處。自隱居來此山七八年，尚未得窮歷踐行。而況悠悠之徒，令其究竟之耶？所以來得遍履者，患於無良侶可同登陟之艱。獨行又覺踽踽，是以遂爾淹稽，常所耻恨。比日方負杖孤遊，庶當委曲所聞所見耳。〉

East of Middle Mao Peak is a small cavern with a crude entrance as if it were for dogs, yet it is barely big enough for humans to pass through. Once you enter, the space will grow more and more spacious, but first you have to contend with a boulder blocking the entrance, 《11.12b》 which is only as big as a basin. You will need to secure the help of the mountain spirits in order for the boulder to be removed. This passage is called the Buttress Gate of the

³⁹ I follow the Japanese translation in reading *nian* as a scribal error for *wei* 未.

⁴⁰ This line is a modified quote of the *Shijing* ode “Didu” 杕杜 [Tall pear-tree] in which the poet lamented that he walked beneath a grove of pear trees all alone as a traveller and stranger to all he met. See Mao 119 (SSJZS), 6b.4a [p. 223]; Waley, *The Book of Songs*, 94.

Shadowy Palace. You will need to be diligent in your purification rituals prior to looking [for this passageway]. While you can enter [the Grotto-Heaven] here it is easier to do it Liangchang. Otherwise there will be many sandy roads that wind around, and there are many waters to cross as you pass [in the subterranean realm]. It is by no means easy. It is quite different from the entrance to the cavern at Lesser Buttress where you follow a straight path for three to four *li* directly to the Side Gate of Mystery east of the Shadowy Palace. About two hundred paces after you pass through the gate it will become as clear as if you were standing in broad daylight.

This [passage] concerns the eastern gate to the Grotto-Heaven. I have drawn plans to discover this spot, but have not dared entered these caves on a whim. [Mao's] hagiography states, "It is about thirteen or fourteen *li* from the Grotto-Palace to the aboveground entrance." But now we know it is only three or four *li* [if entered from] this lateral gate, so the distance to mountain is closer, but the gate is not easily accessible and [the ground] is not level. If you do plan to enter, you will still need to go down several *li* until you reach the [Shadowy] Palace. As for "entering the cavern and standing in broad daylight," this refers to the inner radiance [of the Grotto-Heaven] and how there is no need for the sun [to produce this].

中茅山東有小穴，穴口纔如狗竇，劣容人入耳。愈入愈闊，外以盤石掩塞穴口。餘小穿如盂大，使山靈守衛之。此盤石亦時開發耳。謂之陰宮之阿門。子勤齋戒尋之。得從此入，易於良常洞口。其中多沙路曲僻經水處；不大便易。又道路遠，不如小阿穴口。直下三四里，便徑至陰宮東玄掖門。入此穴口二百步，便朗然如晝日。〈此即洞天東門也。隱量乃可知處，自未敢輕索入耳。前傳云「洞宮出土上計十三四里許」。今此云三四里便至掖門者，是近山下已薄，而門勢又未平。計入門復應向下數里乃得至宮耳。入口便明者，此為內光出照，不必關外日者也。〉

There is also a small cave on the southern side of Greater Mao Peak sharing many of the same features described above. It is called the "southern lateral gate" and it too has a stone blocking its passage. But if you direct your heart with purification rituals towards the director 《11.13a》 of destinies [Mao Ying], and ascend to the top of the mountain on the second day to welcome blessings, he will spontaneously appear before you. If you are truly sincere how can [the gods of] the Shadowy Palace not take notice? What kind of person was Zuo Ci?

The passage speaks of the eastern of the two southern lateral gates. It is probably located among the caves at the rocky mounds of Bozhi. There are many caves blocked by boulders at Bozhi and it is difficult to distinguish [which one is the lateral gate]. You must use your meditative powers in order to gain access; only then can you even considering [opening it]. The second day refers to the second day of the twelfth lunar month. According to legend, there are two days a year [in which you can gain access], but I fear that the other date is the eighteenth of the third lunar month when the mountain is bustling with activity. This is why [this other date] would not be best time to try [to gain entrance]. Since Zuo Yuanfang had already become a transcendent, it was much easier for him to see this place than the average person. This is why after purification ritual in the third month he was able to gain entrance to the cave. Xu Mi was a man of great talent and renown, and his perspicacity was beyond

compare, but the revelations attest that he still needed encouragement. Xu later replied that he had made the proper preparations as described here and hoped that the gods would accept him.

大茅山亦有小穴在南面，相似如一。謂之南便門，亦以石填穴口。但精齋向心於司命，又常以二日登山，延迎請祝。自然得見吾也。誠之至矣，陰宮何足不觀乎？左慈復何人耶？〈此即南面之東便門。應在栢枝礮石穴中。此礮小穴甚多，難卒分別。必須精感得開，乃可議入。云「二日」者，謂十二月二日。依傳說年有兩日，恐三月十八日誼譁雜鬧。非專請之宜故也。左慈以成仙人，質見易於俗。所以三月清齋便得入洞。長史雖挺分高邈，而形識猶昧，豈可相比，此語是欲相獎勵耳。長史後答亦作此意仰酬之也。〉

On the eighteenth day of the third month and on the second day of the twelfth month, the Eastern Chamberlin [Mao Ying] sends out a directive calling forth all the Perfected kings, Perfected beings of the Grand Barrens, and the Azure Lad of the Eastern Seas to gather together at the mountain of Gouqu so they can tour the cavernous rooms. Those who are fond of the Dao and are seeking the path towards becoming a divine transcendent should prepare themselves by purification rituals and ascend the mountain on these days to implore these gods for help. For those who are diligent and sincere, the Three Mao Lords will manifest before them, 《11.13b》 call the adherents unto them, and bestow these mortals with key teachings. Once passing through the Grotto Gate, you will escape wars and diseases, and see the Sage Lord of Great Peace.

According to the letter of the Middle [Mao] Lord, people “ascend to the top of the mountain on the second day and welcome his blessings.” But I would advise you come on the second day of the twelfth lunar month rather than the eighteenth day of the third month. You have [already] been here in the middle of the first month, [so to move your visit up a month would be easy]. Nowadays, the second day of the twelfth lunar month is extremely cold and snow, and [as a result] no one visits the mountain at this time. It is only on the eighteenth of the third month that [people] of the public and private [institutions] assemble here like clouds. There are [always] hundreds of carriages with nearly five thousand visitors. There are priests and priestesses, as well as lay men and women who make this pilgrimage, and the mountain looks as though it has been transformed into a metropolitan center. I have seen these people ascend the mountain together and sing Lingbao hymns. As soon as they have made their oblations they quickly depart and return home. Even if there was a person who sincerely [studied] the occult among them, how could they possibly catch a glimpse of the gods? There are surely one or two people among these masses who have made this pilgrimage with utter sincerity and zeal, but, as they are surrounded by all this defilement, they are unable to attain the concentration needed to make contact [with the gods]. Unless they turn away from the masses to seek the beneficence of the gods, they will never attain the spiritual fruits they desire. But where this central cliff where this recluse dwells the prohibitions are clearly

observed, and [you will] encounter no random passersby.⁴¹ Since it is cut off from the [southern] cavern, no one knows this place exists.

三月十八日，十二月二日，東卿司命君是其日上要總真王君，太虛真人，東海青童，合會於句曲之山，游看洞室。好道者欲求神仙，宜預齋戒，待此日登山請乞。篤志心誠者，三君自即見之，抽引令前，授以要道。以入洞門，辟兵水之災，見太平聖君。〈按中君書云：「常以二日登山，延迎請祝」。即請十二月二日，不見道三月十八日者。屢有正月中耳。今臘月二日多寒雪，遠近略無來者。唯三月十八日，輒公私雲集。車有數百乘，人將四五千。道俗男女，狀如都市之眾。看人唯共登山，作靈寶唱讚，事訖便散。豈復有深誠密契，願睹神真者乎？縱時有至誠一兩人，復患此誼穢，終不能得專心自達，如此抽引乞恩，無因得果矣。唯隱居所住中巖，禁斷清年，得無遊雜。既去洞隔嶺，人自不知至於此也。〉

The southwest side of Liangchang Peak is a suitable place to reside. This is where the director of destinies [Mao Ying] formerly built his separate residence. You can compound elixirs here as well.

The director of destinies [Mao Ying] crossed over the [Yangzi] River and came to build his residence here. While here he performed acts to purify himself by confronting various gods and spirits. Now when [Yang] spoke of the “side” of the mountain, he referred to its far edge. This should be [a place] west of Daheng Peak, and directly to the north (*lit.* behind) the senior administrator [Xu’s] residence. There is tradition of village elders stating, “There is a glade northwest of Greater Mao Peak among a grove of birchleaf pear trees called Xiabo.”⁴² 《11.14a》 This is where the director of destinies [Mao Ying] once lived and cultivated an extremely fertile plot of land.” I have often found bricks, roof tiles, and other ancient artifacts [here]. It appears as though it has long been a place where people lived. It also confirms why one should not transgress [on places reserved for deities]. Having pondered this [revelation] you will [realize] that [while] it is appropriate [to build] west of Middle Mao Peak, you should not abandon [developing] Liangchang.⁴³ Whenever the words of the Perfected do not seem to be right, you will unexpectedly discover the places to which they describe. In the days of antiquity, every inch of Maoshan was covered in thick forests and filbert. The heavens were blocked from view, as the sunlight could not penetrate [Maoshan’s] canopy; every place was shrouded in secrecy. In recent times, however, the trees have been chopped and the land tilled, so that lands in every direction are exposed to broad daylight. The times have changed and our needs are much different [than antiquity], and there is little reason to dwell on this. But since these [changes] are a rather recent [phenomenon], we might be able to slow

⁴¹ I follow the variant reading of *yan* 巖 instead of *nian* 年.

⁴² I have removed a sentence that is a reiteration of the previous sentence and thus a scribal error. See SKKK, 413n8. Birchleaf pear (*tangli* 棠梨) (*Pyrus baccata*, *Pyrus betulæfolia*) is a small, coarse pear tree found in wild, mountainous regions. Its fruit is rarely eaten, but its leaves are often roasted and its flowers pickled to combat choleric difficulties. See Smith, *Chinese Materia Medica*, 362.

⁴³ Yoshikawa and Mugitani read the *jun* 君 as *ruo* 若 on this grounds that the meaning is clearer, but it is not inconceivable that this commentary was directed towards Tao’s imperial sponsor. I have thus preserved the original reading and translated it as “you.”

down the development that has happened here over the past fifty or sixty years.

良常山西南垂有可住處。是司命往時別宅處也。亦可合丹。〈司命初過江，立宅於。以自蕩滌，質對神鬼。今按垂之為言，如是邊際。此正應在長史宅後大橫之西。今父老相傳，乃言大茅之西北平地，棠梨樹間，名下薄處。言是司命君故宅，耕墾至肥良。多見磚瓦故物。似經住止處，亦驗烈不可穢犯。君此審是，則宣言中茅之西，不應遠舉良常。大都真人語自不正的，遇所引處便言耳。昔時山下遠近諸處，長林榛芳。遮天蔽日；無處不可隱密。即今斫伐耕稼，四通九達，山中亦皆顯露。時移事異，不復可准。乃言未久如此，正復五六十年来漸劇耳。〉

On the southeast side of Liangchang [Peak] there is also a suitable place to live. There is a pile of stones [at this site] shaped like an [alchemical] furnace. [A grove of] trees with parasitic growth and a curvy canopy [grows] next to the [rocks shaped like a] furnace. This place is truly exceptional, but is a shame that rapids [run near this site]. Nonetheless, it is still quite adequate [to call home].⁴⁴

This place can be reached today, but the grove of *jisheng* with mushroom canopies are no longer growing. It also sits adjacent to a cave with flowing water to its north. To its east and west are well-travelled roads, and this is what is meant by it being a “shallow” place. Now it is so rundown and grown over that there is no way to live there.

良常東南又有可住處。其間當有累石如竈形。竈間或有寄生樹，樹如曲蓋形。此處至好，但恨淺耳。雖爾自足。〈此處今亦存，但無復有寄生曲樹耳。亦帶北洞流水。其左右並近大路，所以言淺。即今凋迴，無復可往也。〉

Northwest of the entrance to the cave [at Liangchang] is a bit steep and somewhat unsafe, but it will serve well as an outer quiescent dwelling.

The area surrounding this place is rather desolate. It backs up against the levee of a nearby village and would not make a great place to build a residence. It is said that in antiquity this spot was not too far from the county seat and it was easy to travel between the city and this spot. Since the people lived so close to the entrance to this cave, there were many people who came here. The outer quiescent dwelling is a place to receive visitors 《11.14b》 who come to rest and is not intended as a place for one's own ritual practice. [The visitors] wished to be close [to the adepts] to learn more [about their practice]. The householder Gu [Huan] placed this [revelation] within a fascicle titled “The Present Location for the Construction Site for the Quiescent Dwelling.”⁴⁵ Based on the evidence from Yuan's [i.e., Xu Hui's] manuscript, we see that this ordering [of the revelations] is incorrect and that the [revelation concerning Liangchang] should be read [as occurring] before the senior administrator built his

⁴⁴ Read the variant *zhu* 住 for *wang* 往.

⁴⁵ Gu Huan's title of this now lost fascicle is a quote from a revelation about how Xu Mi's temple could be built on top of the highest room of the Grotto-Heaven below. *DZ* 1016, 13.16b [SKKK, 497]. See chapter 1, pp. 41–42 for a translation of this revelation.

residence. After this revelation is a letter written from Xu Mi [to the gods] in which he informs them that the ground of the northwest [of Liangchang] was too steep, and thus he opted to construct at Jun Peak instead. He did not consider the advice he received on constructing at the highest room of the Golden [Platform] County. [Given the incongruity of these details], we know there must have been other revelations [no longer extant].

洞口西北有一地，地小危不安，要自足立外靜舍也。〈今此中以去多荒蕪，漸近村墟，並不足復居。昔時言去縣小近，往來為易。又近洞口，所以屢及之耳。外靜舍當以俟游賓從憩止，非自往修行之所，益知是欲相近之意也。顧居士所撰本，此中向「近所標精舍地」一篇，今視掾書者，不以相次，乃別出在長史所營宅前耳。此後長史答書，道西北地危，仍次菌山。不酬金鄉至室語，明知本別授之也。〉

There is a mountain at Maoshan called Jun Peak (*Junshan*). It is an extremely nice location, and there is gold in its hills. You may extract [the gold] by digging one or two *chi* in the ground. At the end of my life on earth I buried gold here. For those wishing to consume the gold, and decide to take it, they should [remember] to avoid trying store it away for themselves.

People no longer know the whereabouts of a mountain called Jun Peak. I have tried to identify this mountain by looking for any solitary peaks in the shape of a *jun* mushroom, or one that looks like a *jun* of a *juncang* (“granary”).⁴⁶ Note that between Long Butress, which is north of Greater Mao Peak, and east of Jijin Peak is a depression with a small peak rising in the middle that looks like a Boshan censer. It is likely close to Jijin Peak. I think this must be a place where there are many trees and rocks on the site, and this [revelation] could concern one or two sites. It has been hard to search for [their whereabouts]. If only we could implore [the gods] to bestow [more information], but this would be out of the question. If you wish to engage in alchemy, take note that there is a long eastward flowing brook running on the south side of this peak. It is hidden from view and has a favorable topography. When you settle on a date for construction to commence, then I can describe [more about this site] in detail.

句曲之山有名菌山。此山至佳，亦有金，乃可往採，入土不過一二尺耳。吾昔臨去時，曾埋金於此。欲服金者，可往取，但當不中以營私累耳。〈今人不復識呼菌山者，尋此山形當如菌孤立，亦或是困蒼之困，形如困也。按大茅後長阿積金東凹地有一山子，獨秀如博山爐。且又近積金山。恐此或當是即今多石及樹木，但金之所在，指一兩處。亦難可尋索。唯啟乞垂賜，所不論耳。意欲營轉鍊之事，亦指此山前臨長澗東流水。至幽隱，有形勢。若基構有期，當更宣述耳。〉

At Greater Mao Peak there is a cauldron 《11.15a》 from the time of Xuandi that could hold as much as four or five *hu* and was covered with exquisite engravings. It was buried eight *chi* underground atop a spot where the mountain was particularly high, and the spot was

⁴⁶ There is a variant reading *cang* 倉 for *cang* 蒼. *Juncang* 困倉 was a kind of storehouse in urban areas for grains. See *Liji* (SSJZS), 16.23b [p. 326].

covered with a boulder. During the reign of Xuandi, the gods of the Eastern Seas were ordered to bury a tripod at this spot.

This event was most likely carried out at the same time that Parthian rock was transported and buried [at Maoshan]. At present there are many rocks at the highest point [of Greater Mao Peak]. Every time there is an auspicious day, Daoist priests from near and far ascend this summit to burn incense and carry out rituals.⁴⁷ There are no longer grasses or trees at this spot, so the [priests] have constructed a small altar out of rocks. In former times there was even a room with a tiled roof standing at this spot, but it was destroyed by the winds. Soon thereafter ancient kings came bearing heavy cauldrons with lift sockets modeled on the sun and moon, as well as three legs modeled on the Three Talents [i.e., heaven, earth, and man]. They were able to steam and concoct all the things of this world. Somehow the weight [of this tripod] was lightened and it miraculously disappeared. The Middle Lord later revealed to Xu Mi that “They forged [this cauldron] with bronze from Yushan, and that all mountains with Grotto-Heavens have similar [cauldrons].”

大茅山有玄帝時銅鼎，鼎可容四五斛許，偃刻甚精好。在山獨高處，入土八尺許，上有盤石掩鼎上。玄帝時命東海神使埋藏於此。〈此亦當是移安息石時所埋也。今最高處乃多石。每吉日，遠近道士咸登上，燒香禮拜。無復草木，累石為小壇。昔經有小瓦屋，為風所倒。尋古來帝王並重鼎器者，以其兩鉉法日月，三足法三才。能烹飪，熟成萬物。兼自能輕重，神變隱顯故也。中君後答云：「鑄羽山之銅以作之，諸有洞天之神皆爾。」〉

At the bottom of Greater Mao Peak is a font that would make an ideal spot for a quiescent dwelling. It would be best to place this near the water, but the slope is a bit steep and uneven.

The large cave entrance on the southern side [of Greater Mao Peak] currently has a nice flow of water but is covered with rocks. Once it flows [past the rocks], it become level ground. Many people have come to live [at the Southern Cave] in recent years. It was the Daoist priestess Xu Piaonü, however, that first moved here in the beginning of the Song dynasty [420–79 CE] with the support of then governor of Guangzhou, Lu Hui.⁴⁸ She resided before the cave for many years and passed away here. [Xu’s] female disciple, surnamed Song, was a reputable woman who could be called upon under any circumstance. [Song] grew old here and passed away, and was buried south of the mountain. Her female disciple, surnamed Pan, inherited [their compound] and resides [at the same site] today. During the *yuanhui* reign [473–77] a group 《11.15b》 of men also came to the cave to live. When the Qi dynasty was established [479] the

⁴⁷ Tao uses the phrase “burn incense and carry out rituals” (*shaoxiang libai* 燒香禮拜) to describe the kind of rituals Xu Hui engaged prior to his death (DZ 1016, 20.10b). Yang Xi also describes how deities also convened on mountains to “carry out rituals” (*libai*) (DZ 1016, 12.12b). Thus Tao’s criticism of these priests was not in what they were doing at Greater Mao Peak, but their lack of knowledge about the supernatural artifacts beneath the surface.

⁴⁸ Lu Hui 陸徽 (391–452 CE) served as an official in Guangzhou early in his career prior to being promoted to a series of successful appointments in the military. See *Songshu*, 92.2267–68.

emperor ordered Wang Wenqing of Jurong to establish a lodge called Venerating the Prime [Chongyuan] [at this same spot]. Wang ordered the construction of a large hall with annexes and a veranda. It truly was a bold [design].⁴⁹ There were seven to eight Daoist priests allotted [to Wang] to perform menial tasks. Subsequently, countless numbers of men and women have come from afar to live near this center over the past twenty years. [Their homes] stretch out for many miles. While there are over ten station dwellings constructed [before the cave], few people study the superior way [i.e., Shangqing] and instead perform Lingbao fasts and compose talismans. Not long ago there was a woman who called herself “grotto clerk,” who arrived here to live before the cave. She has devoted herself to ensure that the cave is kept in pristine condition. She is versed in the shamanic arts and divination techniques, but [her prophecies] are misleading and untrue. The grotto clerk is but one of many examples of this sort. There are also streams flowing on the eastern and western sides of Greater Mao Peak. At the end of the Jin dynasty [265–420 CE] there was a certain Ren Dun who attained his Dao [along one of these streams]. His stove where he compounded drugs still exists today. Nowadays there is a group of people led by Xue Biao who still practice where [Ren once lived]. Another practitioner, Zhu Fashui, lives further up the mountain from this site. He has the pleasure of a commanding view, but lacks a water source.

大茅山下亦有泉水，其下可立靜舍。近水口處乃佳，當小危不安耳。〈今近南大洞口有好流水而多石。小出下便平。比世有來居之者，唯宋初有女道士徐漂女，為廣州刺史陸徽所供養。在洞口前住，積年亡。女弟子姓宋，為人高潔，物莫能干。年老而亡，仍葬山南。宋女弟子姓潘，又襲住，于今尚在。元徽中有數男人復來其前而居。至齊初，乃敕句容人王文清仍此立館，號為崇元。開置堂宇廂廊，殊為方副。常有七八道士，皆資俸力。自二十許年，遠近男女互來依約。周流數里，廨舍十餘坊，而學上道者甚寡，不過修靈寶齋及章符而已。近有一女人來洞口住，勤於灑掃，自稱洞吏，頗作巫師占卜，多雜浮假。此例亦處處有之。大茅東西亦有澗水。有晉末得道者，任敦住處，合藥穴竈壙猶存。今有薛彪數人居之，又有朱法永，近小山上，快矚眺而乏水。〉

Look from the Liangchang cave toward the east you see the ridges of small mountains. Atop [this ridge] is one thousand *jīn* of buried bronze; it is covered with a boulder. In the Han dynasty, there was an extremely wealthy family named Qu who lived here. Their wealth was in the millions and they buried bronze vessels at this site; these [objects] are still there now. There is also [a cache] of money located on the small mountain on the northwest [portion of the ridge].

[Liangchang] still exists today, but I have no knowledge of where the bronze and money is located. Even though there are traces everywhere [its

⁴⁹ The phrase *fangpi* 方副 (“squared divisions”) could refer to the foundation of the building, which likely was “remarkable” (*shu* 殊) since it had to follow a rough mountainous terrain. Unable to locate other examples of *fangpi* used in this way I have sided with the Japanese translation that it is an emphatic phrase. This is quite possible since it could be a graphic variant for *fangfu* 方幅, a colloquial term in early medieval China used to describe persons as “intrepid.” See *DKW*, 5.669a–b.

exact location] is imperceptible. I have looked everywhere, from the high clearings down to infertile river[banks] where buildings might have once stood, but I have found no site that looks as though it might have been an old village. I fear that this is because too much time has passed and perhaps the topography has changed.

良常山對穴口東視小山之嶺。其上有埋銅數千斤，以盤石填其上。漢時其山下有屈氏，家大富。財有巨億，埋銅器於此；于今在也。亦有錢，錢在西北小山上向也。〈今此山具存，無知其錢銅處。縱有彷彿亦不識。尋視此山，明地高下墩澗，不似經墟村住處。恐歲代久遠，勢迹乖異故也。〉

I have 《11.16a》 received two letters you sent last year (364 CE) on the first day of the third lunar month [April 18] and the eighth day of the eighth lunar month [September 20].

This response [from Lord Dinglu] was received in 365 and addresses questions Xu Mi asked in two letters the previous year. Note that these letters were stored in the quiescent [chamber] of the Zhu family of Shuxu, and were not delivered by Hua Qiao, but by Yang Xi.

曾得往年三月一日、八月八日二書。〈此乙丑所受，則長史往年書是甲子年中。按答云直置書於述墟朱家靜中，則非因華僑，楊君送之也。〉

In your letter from April 18 you wrote, “I am preparing to cultivate the fields of Red Rock (Chishi), and this location will one day serve as a resting point for my travels between Jurong and Maoshan.” Yet you have never achieved this goal. In this same letter you further claimed, “How could I possibly abandon seated visualization [rituals]?” Such a statement clearly shows your zeal and sincerity. But if your mind is not [known to] you, then do not blame others for your failures.

The fields of Red Rock are about ten *li* west of Middle Mao Peak, where there is a large reservoir there, but it was long ago abandoned and is now in disrepair. I now plan to rebuild [the embankment], which would reclaim ten *qing* of tillable land. [When this letter was written] Xu Mi had decided to take leave of official life and try his hand at cultivating land. He bought many tracts of land that faced this numinous mountain, but soon thereafter encountered a drought that dried up his reservoir. Realizing his imminent failure, he composed the aforementioned letter as a means of self-deprecation.

三月一日書云：「今當墾赤石田，日為往來之階。」亦竟不就事也。復云：「豈可遐弁坐觀存沒哉？」此道自決求真之精誠也。心不在我，不可責人使必成之也。〈赤石田，今中茅西十許里有大塘食澗水，久廢不修。隱居今更築治為田十餘頃。長史昔意欲避形迹，因作田之階。得數處望靈山，而遇旱塘壞，竟不果，所以書譏之耳！〉

And you never fast, even when your letters state that you observed the purification rituals.

See [Xu Mi's] response below. From this we discover that you cannot tell a lie when petitioning the gods for they are clearly aware of all our actions.

都不齋，而有書云齋戒也。〈此亦有答明辭奏不可輕妄，動靜必皆聞徹矣。〉

Your September letter stated, “I am carefully preparing a visit to the pinnacle of Greater Mao Peak. I hope that you will grant me an audience and allow me to rest my eyes on your tender face and hear the jade 《11.16b》 tone [of your voice].” Such a statement shows your passion for seeking our teachings (*dao*). When I recently received this letter my heart was really moved for I knew you were someone who would strive for the Dao with all their might. [Take note that] the director of destinies lives in the Eastern Palace. Be careful not to address all the gods as one group when writing letters to us for our powers are all different.

The director of destinies usually resides at Chicheng at Dahuo Peak; he merely has a sectional office at Maoshan.⁵⁰ He holds an extremely high position so it is quite difficult to make any kind of appeals in his presence. Although the Lords Dinglu and Baoming both live at Huayang, they belong to different bureaus so if you address them in writing you must do so twice. Presenting a text, however, is never as effective as if you are able to make your appeal in person. This is because you are able to sense their reaction as you make this request.

八月八日書云：「謹操身詣大茅之端。乞特見採錄，使目接溫顏，耳聆玉音。」此語為求道之甚急也。得近書，具至心，可勤道獎志也。司命君自在東宮，又書不應總合，德有輕重之故也。〈司命常住大霍之赤城。此間唯有府曹耳。具位有高卑，故不宜共作辭啟。二君雖同居華陽，而官府各異，不得同紙。凡書奏不如口啟，於此可具鑒其儀格耳。〉

We all are very aware of the importance you place [on guarding] your correspondence with us. How about you stop [sharing these letters with others]?

This refers to [the time] when Xu Mi unwittingly left his letters [to Maojun] in someone's quiescent [chamber] and left. [Lord Dinglu] feared that someone would soon arrive and the deepest secrets of the Perfected spirits would be divulged to the whole world. [Lord Dinglu] thus made this comment in an effort to test [Xu Mi's] intentions. Xu Mi's response to [Lord Dinglu] below is most cunning.

吾等已自相知之，厚薄書疏，亦甚為班班，欲停之如何？〈此是長史輕脫，置書於他家靜中而去。恐方將人到，又致漏泄，真靈慎密。故有此語，欲戒試其心事。長史後答此言，亦殆為巧便。〉

You must be extremely careful in showing our correspondence to other people. In the event that someone gets a hold of [these documents], they might tear up this sacred mountain. This would be the greatest of all your sins.

[Lord Dinglu] feared that if commoners knew the location of the gold and other precious materials that they would begin mining activities to extract it. Thus if the information leaked out into the world it would represent the

⁵⁰ See Robson, *Power of Place*, 79–80 for an analysis of the possible locations of Chicheng and Dahuo Peaks, as well as their connection to Mao Ying's hagiography.

most serious offence committed against the Perfected. It is not enough to merely transmit these teachings and precepts in this age, but hope that future generations will also hold the secrets. 《11.17a》

此書疏慎示俗人，脫有見者，掘壞靈山，爾之罪大也。〈恐俗人貪狡之徒知此金寶處，堪能鑿掘。則事由宣泄。此罪真為不輕。非但爾時教戒，亦傳貽無窮。將來諸子，咸共祕之。〉

The passages above are Lord Dinglu's response to Xu Mi's previous letters in which he describes the features of the mountains of Gouqu. We no longer possess a copy of Xu Mi's original letter, but we do have the manuscript in which Xu Mi made a reply [to Lord Dinglu's response]. Each passage of [Xu Mi's reply] corresponds to the order of revelations made by Lord Dinglu, and I have preserved them as follows. Also, Xu Hui wrote the previous revelations from the one beginning with Liangchang and ending with the twenty-first entry.

〈右定錄中君答長史前書說句曲山事訖。此長史前書無本出，今唯有後答，亦隨條奉酬，次第如左。右從前良常來凡二十一條，並有掾寫。〉

Long ago, there was a person living in Shuxu who received revelations for over ten years.⁵¹ He learned that transcendent beings once gathered at Maoshan's marketplace [i.e., Heavenly Market Platform], but had long left the mountain. Later this same god appeared before Lord Bao [Jing] when the latter inquired how he should conduct himself [on the mountain]. This god replied, "There were [transcendents] living here in antiquity, but they have not left. This mountain has a western gate [leading] into a Grotto-Court that connects to Baoshan at Taihu. This is why the transcendents live here." But [Bao] only spoke of a Middle Transcendent Lord; he said nothing about any elder or younger brothers or a hierarchy [of gods]. 《11.17b》 Furthermore, [Bao] did not hear anything about the director of destinies who sometimes rules here at the Eastern Palace. Since he had not seen the records of the [Mao's] hagiography, he was unaware that that the gods descend to the mountain in a certain order and all have a specific rank. As always, he respectfully asked for forgiveness, and did not make the mistake again.

Xu Mi responded to this saying, "The drafts of [Bao's] revelations are still extant, but they need to be collated. The first pages are missing so these surely aren't the beginning lines of the revelation." Lord Bao is Bao Jing, a man from Jurong who is commonly referred to [in these texts] as Bao. Since Xu Mi refers to the *Mao sanjun zhuan* this means that this reply [to Lord Dinglu] was composed in 365 CE.

昔年十餘歲時，述虛〈此乃應是墟字，而由來皆作墟(虛)字。即今之山西村名也。〉閑耆宿有見語：茅山上故昔有仙人，乃有市處，早已徙去。後見包公，問動靜。此君見答：「今故在此山，非為徙去。此山，洞庭之西門，通太湖苞山中，所以仙人在中住也。」唯說中仙君一人字。不言有兄弟三人，不分別長少。不道司命君尊遠，別治東宮。未見傳記，乃知高卑有差降，班次有等級耳。輒敬承誨命，於此而改。〈此長

⁵¹ Tao Hongjing notes that this *xu* 虛 should be written *xu* 墟 as in Shuxu (MAP 3, E-2).

史又更答書云：「今有所起草存，故得撰錄。」而前紙斷失，亦非起端語也。包公是鮑靚，句容人，悉呼作包也。答書時已是蒙示傳記，是乙丑年初矣。」

You revealed that “By passing through the entrance at Lesser Buttress, you should head down three or four *li* to reach the Eastern Side Gate of Mystery of the Shadowy Palace. About two hundred paces later, everything will become clear as if I was in broad daylight.” Is there a separate light in the Grotto-Heaven, or is the sunlight merely drawn from above to light this space? And as for the administrative quarters of this Grotto-Heaven, which are gigantic with hundreds of rooms, do all of the transcendent officials serve the two transcendent lord brothers, or are there others? Surely, there have also been countless men and women that have been appointed here. Is it true that there are also jade halls and golden rooms within this stone chamber? Do the [subterranean paths] connecting this place with Baoshan 《11.18a》 lead directly from these palace rooms and Grotto-Heaven? Is this the same place that Bao [Jing] and his younger sister Zhu once entered? Is it true that Bao and Zhu have yet to be promoted and still serve as underworld governors? Which precincts are they in charge of? Please enlighten me on these matters as I do not understand. I fear I am troubling you [with all of these requests].

The story of Bao and his sister appears nowhere in the response by the Middle [Mao] Lord. It is likely that this was revealed elsewhere. When further asked about the affairs of the Grotto-Heaven, Lord Dinglu made the following response. “You have now asked the same question you asked before. The affairs assigned to the Grotto [administration] will be revealed to you at a later time by Lord Dinglu.

告「小阿口直下三四里，便徑至陰宮東玄掖門。入此穴口二百步，便朗然如晝日。」不審此洞天之別光為引太陽之光以映穴中耶？此洞天中，官府曠大，云宮室數百間屋，官屬正二仙君兄弟，復有他仙官，男女凡有幾許人。為直是石室，亦有金堂玉房耶？宮室與洞庭苞山相連不？包公及妹朱氏昔在世曾得入此宮不？二人為未得登舉作地下主者耶？治在何處？愚昧冒啟，懼有干忤。〈包公及妹事，前中君書無有，當復是別授。今更重問，并洞中事。定錄又答有後也。〉

I now understand the origins of this name for the boulders [transported from the Heavenly] Market mountain. At present I am wholly devoted to [my study] of the Dao and have no concern for [where] the venerated spirits have placed the gold and jade. I only wish you help me procure more secrets. Why would I have any reason to dig them up or disturb them? That is why I have not yet even begun to look for them. [You mentioned] a peak with springs flowing both east and west that contain traces of gold and jade. I shall make ever effort to build a quiescent dwelling at this site to compound elixirs.

This response concerns how one should reside at the fonts of the Heavenly Market, but [such an building] was never built.

市山之盤石，市名之存，由於此也。今之孜孜志慕於道，無心金玉，尊靈所置。唯助令彌密耳。豈有掘犯理耶。此故為未之照察也。山左右泉水，金玉津液。其地亦可立靜舍合丹，輒當以為意。〈此上答天市泉水可住事，而竟無所立也。〉

Do you know anything about the era that Xuandi [came here]? The generations that followed were so many and there is little we can recall of this period. I pray you to reveal this.

Because Zhuanyu is the King of Water, he is referred to as Xuandi. His story is featured in other histories. Xu Mi was quite curious on this matter. This question is responded to later in this text.

不審玄帝是何世耶？後生蒙蒙，多所不及。願告。〈顓臾(瑱)水王，故號玄帝。外書亦爾。長史脫致疑問耳！此條復有答在後。〉

《11.18b》 You revealed “On the eastern side of Middle Mao Peak is a small cave, which [enters] the Buttress Gate of the Shadowy Palace, and it is somewhat easy to enter.” Later [you said] I should prepare [to enter the cave] by first conducting purification rituals and then searching for this place. Once these great spirits fix me in their thoughts, I will be able to reach the Golden Gate and ascend into the jade rooms. My thoughts are constantly fixed on the speed [of my studies], I do not want to be too slow [in attaining my Dao].

With this kind of instruction it would truly be a pity if you did not set out immediately to search and find this entrance. Strive hard to reach every directive that the spirits have bestowed onto us.

告「中茅山東有小穴，陰宮之阿門，入道差易。」後當以漸齋修而尋求之。靈宗垂念，便以為造金門而登玉房也。但存遲速之間，不敢悞遲。〈有如此教示，而不速求游闕。一何可恨。所以眾靈每勤勤引勸。〉

You revealed, “There is also a small cavern on the southern side of Greater Mao Peak that is quite similar [to the previous cave]. It is called the southern lateral gate.” When I saw this revelation I was overjoyed by these virtuous tones that had been bestowed upon me. I have devoted myself with zeal by purifying myself with fragrant baths. I await for an auspicious day at which point I will head to this [cave] in secret. With a humble heart, I hope that the spirits will reflect [their divine perception] within me.

This passage speaks of the eastern gate on the southern side of Greater Mao Peak. It is very similar [in appearance] to the eastern gate of Lesser Buttress.

告「大茅山，亦有小穴在南面，相似如一。謂之南便門。」欣見啟悟，喜稟德音。精誠注向，沐浴自新。既聞吉日，至時密造。區區之誠，靈寔鑒照。〈此道南面之東門與小阿東門相似者。〉

In your revelation you asked, “What kind of person was Zuo Ci [i.e., Yuanfang]?” Upon seeing this I was truly inspired to be the recipient of your grace, and will strive to be more sincere (like Zuo).

This account is the same as appeared in the [Mao’s] hagiography.

告「左慈復何人也？」此見獎勸之言，恩念下逮，益令欣慕。〈傳上亦載此事。〉

You revealed, “There is a habitable location on the southwest side of Liangchang [Peak] where the director of destinies [kept his] separate residence and compounded elixirs.”

《11.19a》 I have seen the records in [Mao’s] hagiography [concerning Liangchang], and

was awed and humbled.⁵² I want to search for the ancient buildings that served as the high perch on which [Mao] roosted, but I am sorry that I still do not know [its location]. I have currently sought out the place according to my understanding, but I hope that when the time comes you will reveal it to me.

According to the [*Maoshan*] *zhuan*, the foundation of this structure has been buried so it is quite difficult to find. This is why Xu Mi beseeched [Lord Dinglu] to reveal its location.

告「良常西南垂有可住處，是司命君往時別宅，亦可合丹。」穆自見傳記，鄙心竊志。欲尋司命君往昔之舊宇，高棲之所托，患未能審知耳。今輒當隱量求處，臨時告悟。
〈傳上亦載此事，基陸湮沒，難可必審，故更乞告示也。〉

You revealed “There is another habitable place on the southeast of Liangchang with a pile of stones like a furnace and marked with a trees with a curvy canopy of parasitic growth.” I would like to go search for this place someday. You also revealed, “There is a place northwest of the cave entrance whose foundation is not very stable but can be used for an outer quiescent dwelling.” Since I have aspirations to build both an inner and an outer quiescent dwelling, it will be best to consider [these sites].

We do not know much about how this outdoor quiescent [dwelling] was built, but there is a pile of rocks that is used as a platform here. It is said that there was [divine] help in transforming this location into a platform. Every time I visit this place I am truly awestruck.

告「良常東南又有可住處，累石如竈，寄生樹如曲蓋為誌。」往當尋其所。告「洞口西北有一地，地小危不安，可立外靜舍。」愚意本自欲立內外靜舍，輒當疇量在宜。
〈亦不聞立此外靜事。而今有一累石壇歷然，相傳乃言掾於此壇化遯也。往拜視，輒感嘆纏心。〉

You revealed, “Jun Peak is really a splendid place, and the director of destinies buried gold here when he departed. Those who wish to consume gold may extract it.” I have secretly wanted to compound an extract of gold, but have not dared discuss it. However, if I dwell on this mountain for many years 《11.19b》 and daily advance in my self-cultivation, to the point of penetrating the esoteric, [I hope] you will reveal the answer [to my questions].

The Middle Lord wrote, “You are not supposed to tell the director of destinies that I buried [a cache of] gold there. You are wrong to reply about this senior administrator.”

⁵² Presumably Xu refers to the *yujiang* 玉漿 (“jade nectar”) and *dongcao* 洞草 (“cavern grasses”) formerly found in the caves of Liangchang. This information is supplied by Mao Ying’s hagiography as it survives in the early eleventh century CE *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤. See DZ 1032, 104.17a [YJQQ, 104.2260]. This interpretation is probable since Yang elsewhere disclosed that Liangchang was a site capable of producing fantastic botanical specimens like the *yinghuo zhi* 熒火芝 (“glowing fire fungus”), a foxfire growing in the shape of beans and producing purple blossoms. DZ 1016, 13.8a [SKKK, 478].

告「菌山至佳，司命臨去，埋金於此，欲服金者可取。」且竊有合金液意，今未敢議此。若山居積年，修學日進，後而事可得密者，臨時啟質。〈中君書云：「吾昔臨去埋金，不道司命。」長史此答誤耳。〉

You revealed “In the time of Xuandi there was a bronze tripod buried about eight *chi* underground atop Greater Mao Peak where the mountain is particularly high.” This is a royal vessel [used] by divine kings. Please reveal openly to this later adept so my reverence for you will increase manifold.⁵³ I will uphold [the pledge], “A quiescent dwelling may be set up below.” I am grateful as you enlighten all [I need] through revelation.

告「大茅山有玄帝時銅鼎，在山獨高處，入土八尺許。」此帝王之所[用]器，疏示後生，益增稟厲，承「下亦可以立靜舍」。感備告悟。

You revealed “There was once a family who lived here named Qu who buried a lot of bronze and money in the mountain.” I do not doubt this in the least. Thinking about these distant events makes me sad to think about how quickly generations arise, one after the next. Last year, when I first presented my letter on the eighth day of the eighth month [September 20, 364], I had prepared myself for my trip to the home of Xu Fan at Shuxu. It was then that a messenger delivered a letter from my some stating, “I have received a response from [the Perfected] that you should not ascend the mountain.” As a result, I followed this advice and returned home. I ordered that this letter be kept in the quiescent [chamber] of the Zhu family. I was so ignorant at that time and was so involved with the impure world of men. I have the utmost zeal to make the highest progress possible. May I continue to always 《11.20a》 hear your voice. I will hear your secrets and reflect on them in detail. When my actions do not accord with my words, it is only because I need a short rest.

Xu Mi was an expert in mysterious things. He acted like an individual who was quiet, yet unbelievably bright. His extant letters indicate that he was indeed such an individual. Nevertheless, he still maintained correspondence [with the gods] to hear and know more. [By his efforts], we now have the revelations obtained through Yang [Xi]. The house that once belonged to Xu Fan still exists. The person who is later referred to as Xu Ou should be a descendent of Xu Fan, for he knew the location of the well and home [of Xu Mi] and he said his great-grandfather was a disciple of Xu Mi.

告「昔屈氏埋銅及錢」，此通非所擬向也。聞此遠事，世代變易，能不悲歎？昔初拜八月八日書，已操身至述虛〈此猶是前村〉。徐汎家，尋家信見報云：「得應言未可登山。」便承此而歸。直致此書於朱家靜中耳。愚心鄙近，亦以肉人穢濁。精誠不懇，無能上達。不悟已暢高聽，得蒙省察，辭與事違，悚息而已。〈長史玄挺，動靜間微，屑辭所向，便已關奏蒙報，或是得楊君所傳者。徐汎家今猶存，後所云徐偶即應是汎後。所以知井宅處，亦云其祖曾為長史門生也。〉

When I used to occupy the fields at Red Rock, I valued its close proximity to the mountains. I treated it as a stopping point on my travels between Jurong and Maoshan. My only reason for wanting to come here was to avoid the summer heat. For now, I will not repair the dam since

⁵³ For more on my interpretation of *bing* 稟 as a word in the Wu-Yue dialect meaning fear and respect, see chapter 1, p. 28.

I am still contemplating what use it may serve. Until the utility [of the dam] becomes clear, I regretfully must wait [to repair it]. Now that I am residing at the foot of the mountain, I feel obliged to maintain it, but it is so far from the entrance to the cave. Thus I am still not certain about this.

The fields are to the west of Greater Mao and Middle Mao Peaks. They are actually not that far away from the mountains and serve well as a spot to observe and visit [Maoshan]. When Xu Mi mentions that he is far away from the entrance to the cave, he is referring to the fact that [Red Rock] is far from the northern entrance [to the Grotto-Heaven]. While these fields are irrigated with mountain water, during times of drought the creek bed dries up and thus a reservoir is difficult to maintain here. We do not know if [Xu] ever tried to cultivate the fields again. The [embankment of this] reservoir still has a breach in its wall. It would probably take about one hundred men to repair the dam, but if successful it could irrigate over ten *qing* of fields. I have servants within my lodge who have planted crops all along this creek. I often want to restore the dam back to its original condition to strive for the distant traces. This would surely be of great service to the surrounding residents.

昔占赤石田，利近山下，為往來之階，此乃丹誠。尋遇天旱，佃不收塘壞。穆尋見用出，此事力未展，非為息懷，今方居山下，故當修懇，以此去洞口遠，故不欲安耳。
〈此田既在大茅、中茅之西，去大山近，瞻仰禮拜乃佳。而言去洞口遠，當是道去北洞口遠耳！此田雖食澗水，旱時微少，塘又難立。不知後當遂墾之不。今塘尚決，補築當用數百夫，則可溉田十許頃。隱居館中門人，亦於此隨水播植。常願修復此塘，以追遠跡。兼為百姓之惠也。〉

You revealed that you are very aware of the importance I place [on guarding] our correspondence. You asked that I stop [sharing these letters with others]. The fact that our correspondence 《11.20b》 has now begun has fulfilled all my hopes of writing you letters. But I want to speed up this process, and want to personally present my concerns directly to the heavenly faces of the director of destinies and two transcendent lords. Heaven has granted my every wish as I now bask in your sagely grace. Why should we now trouble ourselves with writing these letters at all? This is what is called “catching the fish and forgetting the trap.”⁵⁴

This means that Xu Mi cannot bear to stop in his studies. He is expressing his desire to see the gods once again. This is really amazing.

告「書疏班班，欲停之如何？」凡書疏之興，所以運達意旨，既蒙眷逮，親奉觀對司命君二仙靈顏，則天啟其願，沐浴聖恩，豈復煩書疏耶？所謂得魚而忘筌也。〈此蓋不欲停之辭，故引以回見，於理極好。〉

Do you know where Duke Zuo [Yuanfang] now resides? Did Ge Xiaoxian attain his Dao? Where is he now? All his relatives are wondering.

⁵⁴ This is a quote from the *Zhuangzi* in which the author compares a person who forgets about a net once a fish is caught as a metaphor for how words are dispensed with once the meaning is grasped. See *Zhuangzi jiaquan*, 26.1082, 1087–88n14; Ware, *The Sayings*, 340–42.

Since the Ge family was living nearby, Xu asked [Lord Dinglu] on their behalf. And as for [Xu's] questions preserved in this manuscript, [Yang's] replies are featured below.⁵⁵

不審左公今何在？又有葛孝先亦言得道，今在何處？肉人喁喁，為欲知之。〈葛既鄉人，所以及問此條，亦右答在後。〉

The passages to the right are the questions Xu Mi directed towards Lord Dinglu's response. These were taken directly from his manuscript, written on white strips [of bamboo], but with many blotches present. The order of the statements is preserved here. We know that it was written in 365 because Xu wrote the date on the back of the manuscript.

〈右長史答書訖此，並是自起本多黧治，用白牋，次第如此。歲乙丑，此一行本題紙背。〉

⁵⁵ See the twelfth fascicle of *Declarations*.

APPENDIX 2

A STELE INSCRIPTION FOR THE ALTAR AT THE OLD LODGE OF SENIOR ADMINISTRATOR XU¹

許長史舊館壇碑

So far, and so wide reach the divine powers of time and space. They cannot be conveyed in speech or signs, nor can they be recorded with the written word. As such, how do people of later [generations] even hear about them? [If you were to] search for its origins among the myriad of beings born into existence and their various transformations, [you would find] their meaning “darker the dim.”² It is only through [the efforts of] those who have mapped out every corner of the world, classified the temperaments [of its residents], contemplated all affairs, and exhausted the countless ways to comprehend its logic that we can even discuss [their vastness] at all.

悠哉，曠矣，宇宙之靈也。固非言象所傳，文跡可記。然則後之人奚聞乎？含吐萬有，化育群生，本其所由，義歸冥昧。至於形域區分，性用殊品，事限觀聽，理窮數識者，倘或可論。

The mountains are so high and the seas so wide, why is this? It is because of their [tremendous] capacity. Within the great heaven there are thirty-six lesser heavens.³ These [lesser heavens] imprint themselves on the earth and are connected via a system of water currents.⁴ Atop these are windy source-mounts we open the adytum [doors] and access the qi

¹ For more on the position of senior administrator (*changshi* 長史), see chapter 1, p. 27.

² “Darker than dim” (*mingmei* 冥昧) is a phrase the ancient dictionary *Erya* identifies as grain seedlings and other monocotyledons (*youchi* 幼穉). See *SSJZS* 3.8a [p. 40]. It is likely the tiny size of the seedlings led to its association with objects difficult to see. It is this sense of the word that Han writers deployed “darker than dim” to evoke the profound, yet mystifying qualities of the cosmic order (*DKW*, 2.132c). It is likely that Tao, like his contemporaries, conceived of the word “dark” (*ming* 冥) as a word describing the ecstatic state of consciousness by which one used to contemplate the cosmos (*WX*, 11.4b8 [p. 167]; Mather, “The Mystical Ascent,” 236n47; *WXII*, 242n8).

³ The thirty-six heavens belong to what Erik Zürcher calls the cosmological complex of China (“Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism,” 121–27) since Buddhist writers first developed the notion that the universe was composed of a staggering number of world-systems each composed of a billion worlds. See also Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing*, 1: 131–33; Sunayama, *Zui Tō Dōkyō*, 293–99; Miller, *ET*, 849–51.

⁴ “Imprinting” loosely translates *tuoyu* 拓寓, which literally means to “expand out [into a frontier to take up] residence.” It conveys the idea is that the various heavenly realms were long ago mapped out on earth in microcosmic form. It is likely that this compound connotes an architectural image for Tao since he pairs *tuoyu* with *jiejia* 結架 (“ties the frame; construct a building”) in his “Taiping shan rimen guan bei” 太平山日門館碑 (*THJJZ*, 193) to refer to his building of a lodge in the mountains. Tao imagines that the representation of the heavens in microcosmic scale at Maoshan was a copy of the celestial architecture in the mountain’s Grotto-Heaven. It is possible that Tao understood Xu Mi’s residence as a third kind of architectural manifestation of the same heavenly pattern.

of cloudy stacks.⁵ This particular mountain is called Gouqu and is home to the eighth cavernous palace named Golden Platform.⁶ The Floriate Solarity heaven is one hundred fifty *li* in circumference and is divided into three bureaus.

山之高，海之廣，夫何故？以其有容焉。大天之內，復有小天三十六所。並拓寓地空，亘涂水脈。闢闢風岫，通氣雲巘。此山本號句曲，其下是第八洞宮，名曰金壇。華陽之天，周回一百五十里，分置三府。

During the time of Han Emperor Yuan, the three Mao Lords of Xianyang attained the Dao and came here to assume posts [over the three bureaus].⁷ Thus [this place] is called Maoshan; this history is well documented. Afterwards, in the first year of the *taihe* reign in the Jin [366 CE], senior administrator Xu [Mi] constructed his hermitage here; traces of his [compound] survive [here] today. In the beginning of the [Liu-]Song dynasty [420–79 CE] King Jing of Changsha built a concentrative dwelling for a Daoist priest to the east [of Xu's residence].⁸ In the thirteenth year of the *tianjian* reign, there was an imperial decree to convert this concentrative dwelling and create the Scarlet Solarity Lodge.⁹ Soon thereafter came a distant auspice conferring that promising fortune lay in the Fire Calendar.¹⁰ West of this lodge [the emperor] built a hidden residence [for me].¹¹ In the fourteenth year, [I] separately built a fasting room at Yugang Peak where I sought the traces of the Dark Continent.¹² In the seventeenth year, [I now] erect a stele at this altar to reverently describe the traces of Perfection.¹³

⁵ “Source-mont” (*xiu* 岫) was a mountain thought to have trapped heavenly realms within its interior during the creation of earth. Humans could not distinguish a source-monts from their exterior, but were often identified by clouds and medicinal springs originating from these peaks. See Bokenkamp, “The Ledger,” 271, 298. In other places, “source-mont” evokes images of caves though this does not seem to be the sense that Tao develops here (DZ 388, 1.6b7; *WXL*, 251). “Stacks” (*yan* 巘) were columnar rocks rising from the seas, and when used in conjunction with clouds meant cumulonimbus clouds reaching high in the atmosphere. Adytum (*wei* 闥) was an inner door leading to the inner sanctum of temple complexes in high antiquity, most notably the *mingtang* compound. See *Zhouli* (SSJZS, 41.18a5–8 [p. 641]). According to Zheng Xuan's (127–200 CE) commentary, this small door (roughly two meters high) was named because *wei* was homophonous with *wei* 韋 (“to ward off [unwanted human and spirit intruders]”). Also see note 45 below.

⁶ Golden Platform (*jintan* 金壇) is the name of the immensely large terrace upon which the palaces of Maoshan Grotto-Heaven were built. Yang Xi identified thirty-seven or thirty-eight *qing* of land at Maoshan thought to be positioned directly over the Golden Platform. At the sites, the earth was particularly fecund and the well water was of the highest quality. According to Yang, Golden Platform is an abbreviation for the Platform of Hooked Gold (*Goujin zhi tan* 句金之壇), a name describing how the headwaters springing from this site meandered down the Gou[qu] mountains. See DZ 1016, 11.1b–3a [SKKK, 396–97].

⁷ Han Emperor Yuan is Liu Shi 劉爽, r. 48–33 BCE. For more on the names and titles of the three Mao brothers, see chapter 1, p. 18.

⁸ King Jing is Liu Daolian 劉道憐 (368–422, see *Songshu* 51.1461–64). DZ 1016, 13.17a [SKKK, 497–98] identifies one of King Jing's concubines whose surname is Tan 檀 as the principal sponsor of this construction.

⁹ February 10, 514–January 30, 515.

¹⁰ For more on the fire calendar (*huoli* 火曆) as an astro-calendrical calculation of the symbol of the Liang house, see chapter 5, p. 213.

¹¹ Usually Tao's uses the term Yinju 隱居 (“hidden resident; recluse”) as his style, but since this term follows the active verb “to build” (*zhu* 築) it seems like Tao is using the word as “hidden residence.” Either way Tao claimed that he lived nearby Xu Mi's temple for one year prior to moving northeastward to his present residence on the Yugang Peak (see Daheng Peak, MAP 5, C-6).

¹² January 31, 515–February 17, 516.

¹³ January 27, 518–February 14, 519.

前漢元帝世，有咸陽三茅君得道，來掌此任。故稱茅山；具詳。至晉太和元年，句容許長史在斯營宅；厥跡猶存。宋初長沙景王，就其地之東，起道士精舍。梁天監十三年，敕質此精舍，立為朱陽館。將遠符先徵，定祥火曆。於館西更築隱居。住止十四年，別創鬱岡齋室，追玄洲之蹤。十七年乃繕勒碑壇，仰述真軌。

The perfected one's surname was Xu, his taboo name was Hui, common name was Mi, and his byname was Sixuan. He was from Pingyu of Runan.¹⁴ In the second year of the *zhongping* reign, his fourth great grandfather Guang, styled Shaozhang, was the victim of a family feud and suffered great slander.¹⁵ He subsequently moved south to reside in the Jiyang hamlet of the municipal county of Jurong in Danyang.¹⁶ [Members of his] family then served [as officials] during the Wu dynasty [222–80 CE] as a warden of the palace. His perceptive demeanor was highly praised and was considered one of great talents of his day. [Xu Mi's] grandfather Shang, byname Yuanfu, was a judicious man who worked as squire of the Palace Secretariat.¹⁷ [Xu Mi's] father Fu, byname Zhongxian, was capable in every capacity he served and was known for his unassuming nature.¹⁸ During the Jin dynasty [265–420] he was appointed as the Shan [District] magistrate, general tranquilizing the boreal regions, governor of Xiapi, and senior administrator and marquis of Xicheng.¹⁹

真人姓許，諱穆，世名謚，字思玄。本汝南平輿人。後漢靈帝中平二年，六世祖光，字少張，避許相諛俠。乃來過江，居丹陽句容都鄉之吉陽里，後仕吳，為光祿勳，識字亮拔，奕葉才明。祖光尚，字元甫，有文章機見，吳中書郎。父副，字仲先，器度淹通，風格清簡。晉剡令、寧朔將軍、下邳太守、西城侯侯。

[Xu Mi] was Fu's fifth son. He developed a reputation at a young age, and he established

¹⁴ Runan 潁南 is in present-day Henan prefecture in Xi 息 county. Qiao, *Lidai yudi*, 42a; Hong, *Shiliuguo*, 4139.2.

¹⁵ In *Declarations*, Tao writes that it was Xu Guang's 許光 brother Xu Xun 許訓 and Xun's son Xu Xiang 許相 who instigated the attack of Xu Guang. The court eunuchs, who were in control of palace affairs at this time, gave credence to the slander of Xun and Xiang thus placing Xu Guang in a precarious position. See *DZ* 1016, 20.4b [SKKK, 702]; *HHS*, 80.2235. The date Tao assigns to this event corresponds to February 18, 185–February 6, 186.

¹⁶ Danyang 丹陽 is southeast of the Jiangning county seat in Jiangsu province. It was an alternate name for the southern capital of Jiankang. Hong, *Dong Jin jiangyu zhi*, 3584.1; *ZGGJ*, 109; Rogers, *Chronicle*, 332.

¹⁷ In *Declarations*, Tao Hongjing records that Xu Shang 許尚 became a squire at the Palace Secretariat in the third year of the *fenghuang* reign (January 25, 274–February 12, 275). *DZ* 1016, 20.6a [SKKK, 703]. A squire attendant of the Palace Secretariat (*zhongshu lang* 中書郎) is an abbreviated form of *zhongshu shilang* 中書侍郎, a title referring to officials who controlled the flow of memorials and edicts within the palace complex. During the Han dynasty the position was typically filled by eunuchs, but Xu's day the term designated higher managers in the bureau. Rogers, *The Chronicle*, 201n58; Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 426–27.

¹⁸ Xu's father, Xu Fu 許副, was one of the early generation of southern aristocrats who served in the imperial bureaucracy following the fall of northern capital and subsequent 317 exodus of the Jin royal house. In the course of serving the northern émigrés, Xu Fu participated in the revival of Celestial Master rites at the southern capital. *DZ* 1016, 20.6a–b [SKKK, 703–04]; Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 6–7 and *Le Taoïsme du Mao chan*, 122–23.

¹⁹ Shan 剡 is present-day Shengzhou 嵊州 in Zhejiang province about seventy kilometers southeast of Shaoxing (*ZGGJ*, 682; Rogers, *Chronicle*, 219n196). This is the same place where Xu Mi's illicit grandson, Xu Huangmin 許黃民, took the Shangqing manuscripts after spending nearly three decades editing the texts (Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 43). Xiapi 下邳 is east of present-day Xiapi in Jiangsu province (*ZGGJ*, 48; Qiao, *Lidai yudi*, 33a; *SLG*, 4151.3). Xicheng 西城 is northwest of present-day Ankang 安康 county-seat in Shaanxi province (*ZGGJ*, 352; Qiao, *Lidai yudi*, 43a; *SLG*, 4147.3). There is a graphic variant for *hou* 侯 that is written with the homophonous *hou* 候.

harmony among the various branches of his family. He started his career as a learned gentleman of the Imperial College [specializing in] the exegetical tradition for classical court rites.²⁰ Upon becoming a [district] magistrate of Yuyao, he cared for the downtrodden and his generosity was known in every village [of his jurisdiction].²¹ He was then summoned to the Harmony Hall to act as an advisor at the Emperor's side.²² At the end of the *shengping* reign, he was appointed as senior administrator and capital protector, and was also served as a rectifier while in this position.²³ While outside [the capital] he supervised a number of military documents and while inside [the palace] he interpreted texts through countless prefaces. Distant countries focused on the regulations, and all was well in every county and fiefdom. In the *taihe* reign, [Xu] was promoted to supervising secretary and cavalier attendant-in-ordinary.²⁴ His cicada cap was resplendent with flower blossoms for he treated all matters with his superior virtue.²⁵ [The policies offered in] his writings were straightforward and easy to implement. [These writings] encouraged others to care for the elderly and helped [the country] recover from the death of an emperor.

長史，副第五子也。正生少知名，簡文在藩。為世表之交。起家太學博士，朝綱禮肆，儒論所宗。出為餘姚令，勲恤民隱，惠被鄰邑。徵入凱闈，納言帝側。昇平末，除護軍長史，本郡中正。外督戎章，內詮茂序。遐邦肅律，鄉采砥行。太和中，遷給事中，散騎常侍。蟬冕輝華，事歸尚德。簡文踐極。方優國老，儻值晏駕。

When he retired from official life he moved into a mountain shanty and concentrated on cultivation practices. Although he acted as an official and often expressed his opinion at the royal academy, his ultimate goals were far from commonplace. After making a resolve [to enter] the aurora gate, he often undertook ecstatic excursions with his fellow brethren.²⁶ Beginning in the fourth year of *yonghe* reign he often went into seclusion for long periods of time.²⁷ He was quite fond of occult mysteries and cherished even more [the passage of] time. He was always highly regarded as one who could enter into pacts with the spirit world. In the *xingning* reign, a group of Perfected descended to him and told him how to prepare an injunction for dissemination.²⁸ [Since it was] written in a cloudy script atop a dragon manuscript, he had to completely change the entire document [so mortals could read it]. The arcane meanings [behind] this numinous model had to be studied further. As he reached the age to tether his carriage [i.e., retire], it was even more critical that he earnestly follow the [prescribed] practices.

於焉告退，專靜山廬，以脩上道。君雖摛紱朝班，諷議庠塾，而心標象外。志結霞門，弟兄遠遊。永和四年，長遁不返。君尚想幽奇，歲月彌軫。恒與揚君深神明之契。興

²⁰ There is a variant for *bo* 博 that is written as *tuan* 惓 (“despondent”).

²¹ Yuyao 餘姚 is east of the present-day Shaoxing 紹興 county, Zhejiang province (ZGGJ, 1255).

²² Harmony Hall (*kaiwei* 凱闈) is an alternate name for Department of State Affairs 尚書省 or Southern Palace (*nangong* 南宮). See *DKW*, 2.170a; Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 339–40n4102. There is a slight graphic variant between *kai* 凱 and *ji* 凱. I have chosen the former given that is a recognizable name for a government bureau.

²³ February 6, 357–February 10, 362.

²⁴ January 28, 366–December 22, 371.

²⁵ The decorated cicada cap is a synecdoche for the insignia placed atop Xu's court headdress, an object symbolizing that Xu was a highly decorated official.

²⁶ An “aurora gate” might alternatively be translated as an “aurora lineage.” The term refers to a community in which adepts studied the arts of transcendence.

²⁷ February 16, 348–February 3, 349.

²⁸ January 31, 363–January 27, 366.

寧中，眾真降揚，備令宣諭。龍書雲篆，僉然遍該。靈模奧旨，于茲必究。年涉懸車，遵行愈篤。

In the first year of the *taiyuan* reign, [Xu Mi] took leave of this world at the age of seven-two.²⁹ His sons and nephews made preparations to bury an empty coffin at the great tumulus at Xuanxi, a place close to the imperial tumulus. A flying sword was placed in the outer coffin. According to the revelations of the Perfected, the foundation upon which our lord received his [celestial] orders had been developed over many lifetimes.³⁰ [This extends back to] the time of King Wu of Zhou (trad. 1169–1116 BCE) when he was the younger brother of the now high minister of the Nine Palaces, [Duke Xue] Changli. [In that age], Xu had already made strides in transferring this merit, and was blessed with subsequent rebirths. [In these latter lives] he rode the cycle of rebirth, and thanks to these assets, was able to succeed in his Dao. He was thereupon given a jade slip and became a Perfected being of the Shangqing [heavens]; his rank was elevated to marquis and runs in circles with high ministers. He monitors transcendent beings and keeps watch over them. [His title was] shepherd of the people and assistant to the sage. The biographical details of his life after becoming a Perfected being have not yet appeared on earth and it is impossible to describe what happened beyond this.

太元元年，解篤違世，春秋七十有二。子姪禮窆虛柩於懸西大墓，京陵之蹤未遠。飛劍之槨在焉。謹按真誥，君挺命所基，緣業已久。周武王世，九宮上相長里薛公之弟也。兼許肇遺功，復應垂祉後胤。故乘運托生，因資成道。玉札所授，為上真人；爵登侯伯，位編卿司。理仙撫治，佐聖牧民矣。真傳未顯於世，莫能具述。

The senior administrator's third son had a taboo name Yufu, known as Hui, and by the byname Daoxiang. He was born into this world by his mother, Tao Weinü, who died before him and moved into the cavernous bureaus within [Maoshan's chthonic] palace.³¹ Milord was exceptionally bright and pure of heart—no man of his day was his match. He was selected from among his region as the top recruit [for civil service], but chose the ascetic life instead. He made every effort [to reach] the highest [level of] training. Eventually he became a perfected master of sublimity broad and bright, and resided here to restore the rituals [as described in] the scriptures. He was admired by many for his great accomplishments and even reached the hearts of transcendent beings. In the fifth year of the *taihe* reign, [Hui] passed away; he was only thirty years old.³² The revelations of the Perfected state that sixteen years later he was promoted as a high minister of the Shangqing Lad of the Eastern Florescence.³³ He was an attendant of Dichen who received books ensuring him [his own] transcendent palace in the Shangqing [heavens].³⁴ He serves at this post for Dichen along

²⁹ February 7, 376–January 25, 377. There is a variant reading for *du* 篤, *jia* 駕 (“steer [a carriage]”), which would presumably be a metaphor for boarding a heavenly carriage and departing the world. I have chosen the former because it refers to his zeal and wholehearted desire to leave the world.

³⁰ In this sentence, Tao means that Xu had received order by way of a long chain of karmic consequences. It refers to a story that the Perfected told Xu Mi regarding the patron's failed attempt to pass seven trials of ascetic practices in a former life. See Bokenkamp, *Ancestors*, 167.

³¹ This refers to Tao Kedou 陶科斗, the wife of Xu Mi. See chapter 1, p. 25.

³² February 12, 370–February 1, 371.

³³ There is a graphic variant between *qing* 清 and the homophonous *qing* 青.

³⁴ Attendant of Dichen (*shi dichen* 侍帝晨, or *shi zhong* 侍中), is a common appellation in Yang's revelations for otherworldly officials of both Transcendent, as well as Perfected status. At one point (DZ 1016, 15.12a [SKKK, 569]), Tao laments that Yang does not use this title in a consistent fashion thus making it difficult to ascertain what duties this title entails. The prediction for Xu Hui that Tao mentions here is found in

with Guxizi to this day.³⁵ Hui's older brothers Kui, known as Quan, and Huya, known as Lian, also realized the Dao. Kui's great-grandson Lingzhen now lives on this mountain and has reverently permitted that this perfected lodge continued to be used in order to preserve the virtue of his distant ancestors.³⁶

長史第三子，諱玉斧，世名翺，字道翔。正生母陶威女，先亡，已得在洞府易遷宮中。君清穎瑩潔，特絕世倫。郡舉上計掾，不赴，麪糠塵務。研精上業。即弘景玄中之真師也，恒居此宅，繕修經法。揚君數相從就，亟通真感。太和五年，於茲告逝，時年三十。真誥云後十六年，當度東華為上相清童。君之侍帝晨，受書為上清仙宮。與谷希子並職帝晨之任，比世侍中。君長兄揆，世名馴，次兄虎牙，世名聯，並亦得道。揆今有玄孫靈真在山，敕立嗣真館，以褒遠祖之德。

The illustrious emperor took a great vow to come here [and act as] suzerain of this place. He fostered [relations with] all its divine residents by fashioning an array of metal vessels. He led others to the Practice and enlightened the common and fulfilled his destiny to “reveal the teachings.” [The emperor] has relied on the hidden recluse [Tao Hongjing] to gather the scriptures and revelations of the Three Perfected. Since [Tao] took shelter at Huayang for a long time it is only right that he returned to this ancient abode. [Tao] was sponsored to undertake the restoration [of this site] by ordering the carpenters to build a “hall of silence” to revere the gods and models of the Thearchs.³⁷ Through all [of these actions, the emperor and Tao] have made the Great Way known to all.

皇上乘弘誓本力，來君此土。燾育蒼祇，範鑄群品。導法開俗，隨緣啟教。以隱居積蘊三真經誥。久栖華陽，宜還舊宅。供養修理，乃敕工匠，建茲堂請，即仰蒼祇帝則。兼闡大猷。

East [of the sanctuary] was an azure altar and on its western side a white stupa; between the stupa and the altar laid the [old] foundation [of Xu Mi's temple]. [There we] buried the drainage [system] and covered [it with] tiles; we put all our effort into our spades to make clay.³⁸ Above this site, purple haze and white fog intertwined forming a dense canopy. On the south side of the house was a well that the senior administrator dug himself. To the south of

DZ 1016, 20.10a [SKKK, 706]. There is a variant in this sentence between the nearly homophonous *guan* 官 and *gong* 宮. Both terms connote the sense of a heavenly bureau.

³⁵ Guxizi 谷希子 is a deity mentioned as one of the sprits who bestowed texts upon Zhou Yishan during his quest to collect scriptures. DZ 303, 10a [ZHDZ, 46.193b]; trans. Miller, *The Way*, 143. In *Traditions of Pei*, Pei Xuanren likewise met Guxizi and received scriptures at the Azure Hillocks (*qingqiu* 青丘) (DZ 1032, 105.9a [YJQQ, 2270]). Guxizi is also mentioned in several other scriptures as the revealer of a number of meditative techniques. See Robinet, “Review of *Biographie*,” 131–32; Porkert, *Biographie*, 96n301.

³⁶ Xu Lingzhen 許靈真 (b. 478) was a sixth generation descendent (inclusive) of Xu Mi by way of Xu's eldest son, Xu Quan 許馴. Born to a mother of the Ge 葛 family, Lingzhen lived in Kuaiji when Tao first started his career at Maoshan. Nevertheless, Tao knew Lingzhen and praised him in *Declarations* for his knowledge of ritual practice and fine calligraphy (DZ 1016, 20.9a [SKKK, 706]). By 516, however, Tao writes that Lingzhen has made little progress due to his family obligations. (DZ 302, 3.8b [SSMTK, 164]). Also see Strickmann, *The Mao Shan Revelations*, 56. In the reverse of his “Xu Mi Stele,” Tao identifies Xu Lingzhen as head of the heir to the perfected lodge (*sizhen guan* 嗣真館). This information was adapted into a Xu Lingzhen's hagiography in DZ 1132, 1.2b6–9 [ZHDZ, 28.381c] (trans. Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 306–07).

³⁷ There is a variant in this passage in which *qing* 請 is also read *gou* 構. I have chosen the former as it is a graphic variant for *jing*, as in quiescent dwelling (*jingshe*).

³⁸ For more on *ling* 瓴 (“drainage tiles”), see chapter 5, p. 210.

the well was a large pond, which is a vestige of Guo [Si]chao.³⁹ Its water was supplied by the Fonts of Sire Tian, and there is a road leading to traces of Jiangba.⁴⁰

東位青壇，西表素塔。壇塔之間，通是基趾。埋瓴掎瓦，投鋪便埴。紫煙白霧，纏為蔭蓋。宅南一井，即長史所穿；井南大塘，乃郭朝遺製，源出田公之泉，路通姜巴之軌。

[The site] is nestled against Leiping [from whose peak you] can catch a glimpse of people mooring [their boats] down [at the river]. The eastern side [of the compound] has a series of peaks, a long ridge running north to [Da]heng Peak. Willow Font and Sun Vale flow in unison towards the west.⁴¹ People all around call this place Golden Hills, the “earth’s lungs.”⁴² The residence of the Senior Administrator is truly an exceptional [place].

傍枕雷平，前瞰下泊。東際連崗，北橫長嶺。柳汧陽谷，俱會西垂。四域之內，皆謂之金陵，地肺者也。長史所居，尤為標勝。

[From here, the emperor] rides high into the clouds of heaven and takes off to chase the wind as if he were a crane. [He] gazes to the never-ending tidal surges and looks back into the receding distance at the ancient capital.

方將駟雲虬而高騁，驅奔鶴以追風。望洪濤之浩汗，睠故都以浸遠。

The ancients had a saying that one should not create, but should only transmit. I thus dare to carve this stone panegyric only to inform worthies of a future age.

古人有言，匪作奚傳，敢刊石頌，永屬來賢。銘曰：

The swirling pivot surges with <i>qi</i> ,	渾樞驚氣
As the terrestrial gods emit their powers.	方祇吐靈
I divide this landscape according to their dispositions,	依性分境
And transmit my knowledge [of them] by describing their form.	傳識賦形
Their transformations pass through the eight corners, ⁴³	化通八寓
And their merit moves into the four seas, ⁴⁴	功浹四溟

³⁹ For more on Guo Sichao 郭四朝, the ancient developer of a reservoir near the Leiping Peak, see chapter 1, pp. 22–23.

⁴⁰ Jiangba was a place at where the holy master Zhou Taibin 周太賓 and his sponsor, Jiang Shumao 姜叔茂, established a fruit and herb farm near the Leiping Peak. The Fonts of Sire Tian fed these fields. See chapter 1, p. 23.

⁴¹ Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, 17.

⁴² Jinling 金陵 is another name for Maoshan. For “earth’s lungs,” see Schafer, *Mao Shan in T'ang Times*, 2–3.

⁴³ The *locus classicus* for eight corners (*bayu* 八寓) is Zhang Heng’s “Dongjing fu” 東京賦 [Eastern metropolis rhapsody] where Zhang describes how the emperor fulfilled his ritual obligations and carried out an appropriate size hunt in his imperial park thus spreading his might (*wei* 威) throughout all corners of his empire. See *WX*, 3.25a [p. 64]; *WXI*, 289.

⁴⁴ Akin to what geologists call a superocean, the “four seas” or “four stygias” (*siming* 四溟) are the four oceans encircling the world. See the last of Zhang Xie’s 張協 (d. 317?) “Zashi” 雜詩 where the poet pairs rain feeding the Four Seas with clouds extending to the “eight limits” (*baji* 八極). See *WX*, 29a1–b [p. 431];

<p>Searching for their traces where the lightening ends, Measuring its forms where the abyss bottoms out. The precincts revolve around the marchmount still, Where an endless sea of clouds roll onward. Swirling winds eddy across the waters, Coming to substance by relying on vacuity. There was once an obscure artisan, Who excavated these rocks and built his shanty. His disposition and carriage was truly exceptional, As was his terrestrial home among the celestial bureau. He twisted the peaks to curve and coil, And designed the ramparts to rise like lungs. The front of the Five Adyta were opened,⁴⁵ The Nine Lanes come in from all directions.⁴⁶ The long bog stretched along the side of the ridge, From one outflow of water came two streams.⁴⁷ This is what they call the dragon crouching, And refer to as the golden mound.⁴⁸ In the days of old during the Western Han, The three Mao [brothers] came here as guests. By the time of the Eastern Jin, The two Xus had aspirations of perfection. They laid a foundation and dug a well, Dwelling with the Dao they contacted spirits. They harbored and served as assistants to saints, Who then bestowed [the title of] Attendants of the Sanctum.⁴⁹</p>	<p>巡跡電滅 測體淵停 旋區岳立 亘海雲舒 搏風泳水 蹠實憑虛 亦有幽匠 開石架廬 情高身遠 天府地居 縈巒巴曲 畫壤肺浮 五闌面啟 九塗環周 長隰旁嶺 交汧比流 乃稱龍伏 寔調金丘 昔在西漢 三茅來賓 爰暨東晉 二許懷真 裁基浚井 栖道接神 允膺輔聖 錫茲侍宸</p>
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DKW, 3.44a. The four seas, as opposed to the four oceans (*sihai* 四海), seems to have been a medieval Daoist coinage arising amid the influx of Buddhist literature like Faju's 法炬 (fl. 290–306) *Huanshui jing* 恒水經, in which authors coined new categories of geographical knowledge such as “five rivers” and the “nine mountains.” For more on the study of religio-geographic knowledge in the early medieval era, see Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism,” 125; Tanaka, *Senkyō ōrai*, 19–21; Robson, “Buddhist Sacred Geography,” 1364–65; Raz, “Daoist Sacred Geography,” 1421–23.

⁴⁵ I have found no use of five adyta (*wuwei* 五闌) prior to its appearance here. As we saw above, adyta were small doors leading to the inner sanctum of ancient temples, but this term should refer to the five “lateral gates” (*bianmen*) by which humans could access the Maoshan Grotto-Heaven. In a different stele inscription (“Maoshan Changsha guan bei” 茅山長沙館碑), Tao describes his Maoshan compound as having a gallery over the top of an adytum (*weige* 闌閣) (*THJJJZ*, 191). This opens the possibility that Tao might have converted the five lateral gates into architectural compounds. Alternatively, the five adyta might be related to its homonym *wuwei* 五緯, the five planets closest to the sun (*DKW*, 1.461a). This astro-geographic association of temple awaits further examination.

⁴⁶ Nine lane (*jiutu* 九塗) was a term employed as early as the fifth century to refer to the largest highways of the empire. It was given this name because these roads were nine lanes wide. See *DKW* 1.378b. The image suggests that Maoshan is connected to cities in all other directions making travel to and from the mountain relatively effortless.

⁴⁷ These two streams should refer to the Willow Vale and Sun Vale. See Schafer, *Mao Shan*, 17.

⁴⁸ The dragon crouching (*long fu* 龍伏) and the golden mound (*jin qiu* 金丘) refer to Fulong (“Crouching Dragon”) and Jinling (“Golden Hills”), respectively.

They continued on for generations thereafter,
 Always rising to prominence as great men.
 It has all been pronounced in the revelations,
 And is quite authentic without any emendation.
 The clay vessels and bricks are practically submerged.
 The sunken staircase is already demolished.
 Big trees have enabled the frost to creep in,
 The ritual hall has been overgrown with weeds.
 When the lodge at Huayang was first planned,
 Jupiter had crossed into the Two Chronicles.
 Ever mindful of the plans of the past,⁵⁰
 And diligently following the great tracks.⁵¹
 The emperor thus said, “Marvelous!”
 And he stopped at this [place].
 [The emperor] planned this and built this,⁵²
 So stately, a thing of real beauty.⁵³
 The deep echoes of this palace of victory,⁵⁴
 Bring forth the fragrances of overflowing jugs.⁵⁵

參差年代
 網緼名氏
 書誥具宣
 精華未彌
 甄甃將淪
 沉階已毀
 拱樹霜催
 脩庭草委
 肇館華陽
 歲躔二紀
 永觀前猷
 聿遵洪軌
 帝曰懋哉
 爾焉斯止
 經之營之
 輪乎奐矣
 勝殿密響
 瀉瓶揚芬

⁴⁹ Note the graphic and conceptual links between attendants of the sanctum (*shichen* 侍宸) and the aforementioned attendant of Dichen (*shi dichen* 侍帝晨). I think the former is likely an abbreviated form of the latter, which has resulted from Tao's need to compress the title into the terse tetrasyllabic verse.

⁵⁰ Plans of the past (*qian you* 前猷) was a phrase describing the methods used by the kings of antiquity to govern their subjects. See *Songshu*, 5.89.

⁵¹ Great tracks (*honggui* 洪軌) was a term first used by Han dynasty philosopher Xun Yue 荀悅 (148–209 CE) in his *Shen jian* 申鑒 [Remaking the mirror] to describe the laws developed in antiquity to effective order a prosperous society. Xun argues that these “tracks” or “traces” are reflected in the classics (*dian* 典) of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties. *Shen jian* (SBCK), 1.1b.

⁵² This first line of the couplet is a direct quote from a classical ode in which the subjects of the legendary King Wen arrive spontaneously to help the sovereign build an imperial park. *Shijing*, Mao 242 (SSJZS), 16d.4b [p. 579].

⁵³ This is a collapsed quote from a passage from the *Liji* 禮記 in which the prominent officials serving under Xian Wenzi 獻文子 stare in awe at a newly constructed palace building. One of the elders exclaimed that the building was stately and magnificent (*mei zai lun yan, mei zai huan yan* 美哉輪焉，美哉奐矣) (SSJZS, 10.23b [p. 197]).

⁵⁴ Palace of victory (*shengdian* 勝殿) was used by early Buddhist writers to translate the Sanskrit *Vaijayanta prāsāda* (“palace of victory”). *Vaijayanta* (“victory”) was often symbolized by banners depicting Indra (*Shitihuan* 釋提桓), the chief Vedic god; it thus often referred to Indra. By the advent of Chinese Buddhism, the term was deployed as a name for the magnificent temple structures built in ancient India in honor of Indra. In the *Da zhi du lun* 大智度論 [Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra], a text translated by Kumārajīva in the late fourth century, there is a parable in which the Buddha spoke about a group of carpenters who wanted to build a “palace of victory” on behalf of Indra. T 1509, 25.535a. For more on the Indic use of palace (*prāsāda*) to describe these monumental temples, see Meister, “Mountains and Cities,” 262. By the Liang, however, “palace of victory” was used more generally to refer to a ceremonial center fit for emperors and gods. Shi Xuanguang 釋玄光 (fl. fifth century) compared emperors and Buddhas in his *Bainhuo lun* 辯惑論 [Essay on discriminating errors] as individuals who both live in palaces of victory yet have different spiritual powers. T 2103, 52.170c.

⁵⁵ Overflowing jugs (*xie ping* 瀉瓶) was a phrase common in Buddhist writings to describe how a master's teachings were so great that they metaphorically spill out of his jug and shared by his disciples. T 1428, 22.794c. By Tao's day writers used the term to praise the intellect of all kinds of individuals. Here, Tao uses the term both to denote the jugs, likely those filled with fragrant distilled liquor for rituals, and to connote the idea that the teachings left by Yang and Xu contain unending wisdom.

The amazonite planks of this gemstone palace,⁵⁶
 Embellished and enhanced with bequeathed texts.⁵⁷
 Rose-gem cases [house] jade tesserae,⁵⁸
 [Hidden in] white damask curtains embroidered with fabric.
 Thoroughwort lanterns in a row of radiance,⁵⁹
 Metal censers with rising curls of smoke.
 The dual teachings of Tongbo,⁶⁰
 Studied together with those of Fangzhu.⁶¹

瑤宮碧簡
 絢采垂文
 瓊函玉檢
 綺幕繡巾
 蘭缸迥耀
 金爐揚熏
 桐柏雙教
 方諸兼學

⁵⁶ Gemstone palace (*yaogong* 瑤宮) was a term coined in the Liang dynasty as a hyperbolic reference to the profusion of colors on the exterior and interior of the sanctuary. In his rhapsody about the Liang royal gardens, the Park of the Mysterious Gardens (*Xuanpu yuan* 玄圃園), Xiao Ziyun 蕭子雲 (487–549 CE) claims that the designers of the park aimed to follow the traces (*gui*) of the gemstone palace in their construction. *T* 2103, 52.341b. The term is undoubtedly related to gemstone terrace (*yaotai* 瑤臺), a term used in ancient texts like the *Guanzi* and *Chuci* as a reference to the dwellings of spirits such as those in the fabled cities of the Kunlun Mountains. See *DKW*, 7.957n72; Lin, “A Good Place,” 129–30.

⁵⁷ Bequeathed texts (*chuiwen* 垂文) was a phrase used in the Former Han dynasty to describe the finest texts surviving ancient writers. Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE) used the phrase to praise the ancient writings of Qu Yuan (see Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 285n66). Given the context of Tao’s project, the “bequeathed texts” inscribed (or painted) atop the temple structure should be quotes from Yang’s revelations. But it is possible that like the English word “text,” *wen* might refer not to written words, but patterns or designs. This is how Xi Kang (or Ji Kang) 嵇康 (223–62 CE) used the phrase in his “Qin fu” 琴賦 [Rhapsody on the zither] to describe the “designs and patterns” inscribed atop a zither. See *WXIII*, 287n 92.

⁵⁸ Jade tesserae (*yu jian* 玉檢) were covers placed on top of written announcements delivered from the emperor to spirits. Typically these flat jade planks were associated with the *feng* 封 sacrifices emperors made at the foot of mountains prior to ascending the peaks for a *shan* 禪 ritual. The earliest record of these tesserae are in Meng Kang’s 孟康 (fl. 220–49 CE) commentary to the *Hanshu* (6.191) in which Meng describes the logistics of a *feng* ritual held by Han Emperor Wu. These tesserae were of intense interest to early Tang emperors hoping to organize similar rites. In the Tang, announcements were placed inside a pair of flat jade tesserae before being tied with golden string (Wechsler, *Offerings*, 179–80). The jade tesserae of the Tang were used to make a wide range of announcements to the spirits. In his *Da Tang xinyu* 大唐新語 [New sayings of the great Tang], Liu Su 劉肅 (fl. 820 CE) records a conversation between Tang Emperor Xuanzong and his minister He Zhizhang (659–744 CE) in which the latter claimed “jade tesserae” were “esoteric” (*mi* 秘) texts enabling the emperor to penetrate the minds of spirits, and could be used to make requests for divine intervention. See *Da Tang xinyu*, 13. 197–98.

⁵⁹ This use of *gang* 缸 or *gang* 缸 (“earthen pot”) to refer to lanterns was a growing convention in Tao’s day, especially when the word was combined with flower images. See Xie Tiao’s 謝朓 “Feng he Sui wang dian xia” 奉和隨王殿下 in *Xie Xuancheng ji jiaozhu*, 5.381.

⁶⁰ In Yang’s revelations, Tongbo 桐柏, a mountain peak in the Tiantai 天台 range of Zhejiang province, held the distinction of being one of the few mountains matching Maoshan’s reputation as a center for Daoist cultivation. Yang writes that adepts could undergo “transfiguration” (*cheng shen* 成神) at either locale thanks to the chthonic wonderlands found beneath their surface. For Maoshan, this portal was referred to as Jinling 金陵 while Tongbo’s corresponding underworld centered around Jinting 金庭 (*DZ* 1016, 11.5b3 [SKKK, 399]). Some of the gods who successfully underwent transfiguration of Mount Taibo, such as Liu Yi 劉翊, were transferred to Maoshan to assume their first otherworldly post (*DZ* 1016, 12.7b [SKKK, 450]). Tongbo seems to be most famous as the site where ancient holy man Wang Ziqiao 王子喬 posthumously served as an official. At his chthonic court, writes Yang, Wang had twenty-five disciples, eight of which studied Buddhist rituals (*DZ* 1016, 14.7b [SKKK, 517]). It is possible the “two teachings” in Tao’s ode alludes to this early reference to the dual study of Buddhism and Daoism. It is also likely that Tao envisioned the two teachings as referring to those taught at Maoshan and Tiantai, the latter run by his colleague Pan Hong 潘洪 (see below). Tongbo, like Maoshan, continued to be an influential and prosperous site in later centuries (Robson, “Tiantai shan,” *ET*, 987; Skar, “Tongbo guan,” *ET*, 995–96). Tongbo Peak in Zhejiang should also be distinguished from its more famous cousin, the Mount Tongbo in the border between Henan and Hubei.

Will jointly cleansed one's heart-mind,
 And purge all turbidity from the body.
 To be with and without existence,
 And balance between the ornate and plain.
 United through order and aloof to grandeur.
 Expounding the Law with True Awakening,⁶²
 Medicine provides a body of hyalin,⁶³
 Meditation stirs an Intelligent Power.
 To take a flying course so sudden and swift,⁶⁴
 Brushing past phosphors and around rainbows.
 Shake off suffering and dispenses with obstructions,
 To bring back illumination and restoring sapience.
 The words [ascribed to] things are their power,
 And each experience all this without even trying.
 A thousand antiquities are everywhere,
 The Two Mechanisms are inconceivable.⁶⁵
 The Three Positions makes one deranged,⁶⁶
 The boat in the ravine will move by itself.⁶⁷
 Conditions arise on their own accord,
 Do not worry or do anything about it.

并證心清
 俱漏身濁
 離有離無
 且華且朴
 結號虛皇
 筌法正覺
 藥徵質瑩
 禪感慧通
 飛行歟恍
 捫景帶虹
 振苦排鄣
 還明返聰
 物言是力
 我見無功
 紛紜千古
 汗漫兩儀
 三相幻惑
 舟壑自移
 緣來則應
 不慮不為

⁶¹ Fangzhu 方諸 (or Fangzhang 方丈, Fanghu 方壺) was one of the blissful isles located far off the eastern seaboard of China. Kings as early as the fourth century BCE funded expeditions to search for this isle as it was thought to be home to numinous herbs that would promote longevity (Schafer, *Mirages*, 109–10; Kroll, “In the Halls,” 79; *ET*, 788). In the Shangqing corpus, there are at least two islands comprising Fangzhu, a greater (*da* 大) and lesser (*xiao* 小) island. On the northern shore of Lesser Fangzhu, say the revelations, lived a Buddhist community (*fotu* 佛圖) who built golden stūpas ten stories tall (*DZ* 1016, 9.21a [*SKKK*, 338]. In addition to this Buddhist-Daoist connection, Tao might also be referring to the medicinal herbs for which Fangzhu was most well-known. This couplet could be read as Tao advocating for the combination of ritual arts (like those of Maoshan and Tongbo) along with the ingestion of medicinal substances such as those of Fangzhu. This conceptual pair of meditation and medicine was a common one in Tao's day as evidenced by the hagiography of Pei Xuanren in which Pei's master advises him to use both medicine and meditation to realize the Dao [i.e., attain enlightenment]. Taking tonics, says that hagiographer, helps ease the spirit while meditation gives powerful insight into higher knowledge (*DZ* 1139, 5.2b–3a [*ZHDZ* 28.433c]; Kominami, “Jinyaku kara zonshi,” 42).

⁶² *Quan* 筌 is a fish trap that is made by tying thin strips of bamboo. It is commonly used in Tang Buddhist texts alongside *ti* 罟 (rabbit trap) as metaphors for dangers that face an ascetic who is tempted by fame and power (*DKW*, 8.776c). Tao's use of *quan* as a verb here is curious. I follow Wang Jingzhou's reading of this character as a homonym of *quan* 詮 (to expound), but given Tao's consistent use of the character (see his “Ge Xuan Stele”), it seems that this was a conscious and significant component of Tao's verbal repertoire. “Correct Awakening” (*zhengjue* 正覺) was by Tao's day a common phrase to describe the kind of enlightenment that any person on the bodhisattva path possesses (*FGDCD*, 2005–06).

⁶³ A “body of hyalin” (*zhiying* 質瑩) describes the elderly emperor as having a body made of fine, shiny jade. As one of the emperor's key supplier of health tonics, this representation of the emperor's good health likely reflected well on Tao's ability as a pharmacist.

⁶⁴ I can find no other use of *xuhuang* 歔恍, but it certainly cognate to words like *xuxi* 歔吸 (“swiftly”), *xuhu* 歔忽, and *xuran* 歔然 (“instantly”). See *DKW*, 6.6128c. This line implies that by attaining superhuman powers, the emperor is able to travel to the distant reaches of the universe in hardly any time at all.

⁶⁵ Two Mechanisms (*liangyi* 兩儀) are the *yin* and *yang*.

⁶⁶ “Three positions” (*sanxiang* 三相) refers to the three requisite positions in a syllogism.

⁶⁷ A reference from *Zhuangzi*. See Watson, *Chuang Tzu*, 76–77.

[Simply] copy symbols from the Turtle Record,
For all humans and heavens to see.

式題龜錄
人天鑒知

The Reverse of the Xu Mi Stele

《碑陰記》

Tao Hongjing, the Recluse of Huayang, was from the Xiangxia hamlet of western Moling in Danyang. He was born on a summer day in the third year of the *xiaojian* reign, a *bingshen* year (456), but unsure of the exact time.

華陽隱居陶弘景，丹陽秣陵西鄉下里人，宋孝建三年丙申歲夏至之日未曉時生。

He served as a reader-in-waiting for a variety of princes under Emperors Gao (r. 479–83) and Wu (r. 483–94), and as audience attendant. In the tenth year of the *yongming* reign, a *renshen* year [492], Tao gave up his official ribbons to perch in the mountains. Atop Middle Mao Peak, he built the Floriate Solarity Lodge.⁶⁸ In the fourth year of the *tianjian* reign [505], he moved to the eastern brook of Jijin. In the seventh year [508], he headed for the Qingzhang mountains near the Nan River in Yongjia.⁶⁹ In the tenth year [511], he crossed the seas to Huoshan. In the summer of the eleventh year [512], he returned to the Muliu Isles. In the tenth [lunar] month of that year, he was ordered to return to his old mountain [home] [i.e., Maoshan].⁷⁰ In the first [lunar] month of the thirteenth year, he arrived at Maoshan and took up residence on the eastern brook.⁷¹ In the winter of the fourteenth year [515], he moved to this lodge. In the following year [516], he moved into the silent fasting chamber of his Yugang Retreat.

仕齊高武世諸王侍讀，奉朝請。永明十年壬申歲，投紱棲山。住中茅嶺上，立為華陽館。至梁天監四年，移居積金東澗。七年，往永嘉楠江青嶂山。十年，涉海詣霍山。十一年夏，還木溜嶼。其年十月，奉劫迎還舊山。十三年正月，至茅山，入住東澗。十四年冬，徙來此館。十五年，移鬱岡齋室靜齋。

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Principal Florescent Solarity Lodge, Lu Yichong of Haiyan in Hao commandery.⁷²

上清弟子華陽前館主吳郡海鹽陸逸冲

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Principal Lineal Origins Lodge, Yang Chaoyuan of Shan

⁶⁸ The Floriate Solarity Lodge (*Huayang guan* 華陽館), Tao's first home, is a different place than the Floriate Solarity Observatory (*Huayang guan* 華陽觀), a seventh century name for Xu Mi's temple.

⁶⁹ This refers to Tao's self-imposed exile when he fled from Maoshan, purportedly to look for better medicinal ingredients. Yongjia is in southeastern Zhejiang province. An extant poem attributed to Tao called "Deng Yongjia luzhang shan" 登永嘉綠嶂山 was written during his time here.

⁷⁰ October 26–November 23, 512.

⁷¹ February 10–March 11, 514.

⁷² Lu Yichong 陸逸冲, byname Jingyou 敬遊, was a disciple of Tao's as early as the late fifth century when Tao wrote him the "Shou Lu Jingyou shilai wen" 授陸敬遊十寶文 (Xue, "The Elusive Crane," 121–22). Lu has a short biography contained in *DZ* 1139, 1.4b9–5a1 [*ZHDZ*, 28.406b–c] (trans. Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 269). Haiyan 海鹽 is southeast of Jiaying 嘉興, Zhejiang province (*ZGGJ*, 727).

county in Donghai.⁷³

上清弟子宗元前館主東海剡縣楊超遠

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Scarlet Solarity Lodge, Pan Yuanwen of Hushu in Danyang⁷⁴

上清弟子朱陽館主丹陽湖孰潘淵文

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Principal Florescent Solarity Lodge, Ding Jingda of Jinling⁷⁵

上清弟子華陽前館主晉陵丁景達

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Principal Florescent Solarity Lodge, Feng Faming of Jinling⁷⁶

上清弟子華陽前館主晉陵馮法明

Shangqing disciple and lord of Heir to the Perfected Lodge, Xu Lingzhen of Jurong in Danyang⁷⁷

⁷³ Yang Chao 楊超, byname Chaoyuan 超遠, began his clerical career as an abbot of the Grove Room Lodge (*Linwu guan* 林屋館) on Baoshan 包山 (near Lake Taihu in present-day Suzhou). In 503, he erected the Calling the Perfected Lodge (*Zhaozhen guan* 招真館) east of Tao's Huayang Lodge in central Maoshan (*DZ* 1132, 1.12b [*ZHDZ*, 28.386b]; Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 317, 438). Shan 剡 county is present-day Shengzhou 嵊州 (see above). It is unclear why Donghai 東海, which is a broad term covering the southeastern seaboard of China (*ZGGJ*, 486), prefixes Shan here.

⁷⁴ Pan Yuanwen 潘淵文, byname Zhongzheng 中正, was one of Tao's key disciples in his early career at Maoshan. After Tao returned to Maoshan, Pan was in charge of managing the workmen who undertook the renovations of at many Maoshan temples including Changsha Lodge 長沙館, Qulin Lodge 曲林館, and Chongxu Lodge 崇虛館. See *DZ* 300, 2.11b8 [*ZHDZ*, 46.219a]. Sometime between 513–14, he was commissioned to build a special site alongside the Zhuyang Lodge in which the remaining Shangqing manuscripts were to be kept (*DZ* 304, 15.4b [*ZHDZ*, 48.438c]). He is also the disciple who presented *Record* to the emperor upon the completion of its compilation in 517. See Tao's memorial to the emperor regarding this event, "Jin *Zhoushi mingtong ji qi*" 進《周氏冥通記》啟 (*THJJZ*, 88–89). Hushu 湖孰 was a military stronghold and prominent capital suburb. *ZGGJ*, 916. See MAP 2, C-3.

⁷⁵ Ding Jingda 丁景達 was one of Tao's disciples for which little else is known. He is identified in *Record* as a preceptor (*dujiang* 都講), who together with Xu Puming 徐普明 visited Zhou Ziliang and noticed that "sweet dew" (*ganlu* 甘露) had miraculously fallen from heaven and was accumulating at Zhou's house (*DZ* 302, 1.6b2 [*SSMTK*, 23]). It is not clear if Jinling 晉陵 refers here to the commandery (*jun* 郡) that is present-day Wujin 武進 county in Jiangsu province, or if it refers to the county (*xian* 縣) that is located in northeastern Lingbi 靈璧 county in Anhui province (*ZGGJ*, 704). Given the closer proximity between the Wujin and Maoshan (seventy-eight kilometers), it most likely refers to the former.

⁷⁶ Feng is likely a scribal error for Wang 王. Wang Lang 王朗, surname Faming 法明, is said to have been from Taiyuan 太原 and died on February 7, 529 (*TPYL*, 666.1b1–3 [p. 3102]; trans. Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 339–40). He is remembered as a prominent individual among the Maoshan circuit of Daoist lodges, but a master who never amassed a following of disciples (*DZ* 304, 15.4b [*ZHDZ*, 48.438b]). Tao composed an epitaph in his honor, which is still extant (*THJJZ*, 157). While the evidence supports that this individual is Wang Faming, there is still a discrepancy over his place of origin since the *TPYL* passage identifies him as from Taiyuan, which would could be one of at least four different places from as far north as Shanxi province to the south in Jiangxi (*ZGGJ*, 143a–b).

⁷⁷ For Xu Lingzhen and Danyang, see notes 36 and 16 above.

上清弟子嗣真館主丹陽句容許靈真

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Four Luminaries Lodge, Pan Wensheng of Shanyin in Kuaiji⁷⁸

上清弟子四明山館主會稽山陰潘文盛

Shangqing disciple and lord of the Mount Taiping Lodge, Chu Zhongyan of Qiantang in the Hao commandery⁷⁹

上清弟子太平山館主吳郡錢唐褚仲儼

Martial emperor and honored ancestor of the Qi [dynasty]⁸⁰

齊世祖武皇帝

Illustrious emperor Taizong⁸¹

太宗明皇帝

Xiao Yun, prince of Hengyang⁸²

衡陽王蕭筠

The Prefect of Yangzhou and prince of Shian, Xiao Yaoguang⁸³

⁷⁸ Pan Hong 潘洪, byname Wensheng 文盛, left his family at a young age to live as a recluse. He met Tao Hongjing during Tao's early search for Xu Mi's manuscripts and remained on amicable terms for decades thereafter (Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 55). Pan is also known as Pan Siming 潘四明 since his retreat was called the Calling the Perfected Lodge (*Zhaozhen guan* 招真館), in the Siming mountains (in present-day southwest Yin 鄞 and south Yuyao 餘姚 counties, Zhejiang province [ZGGJ, 200–1]). Prior to becoming emperor, Xiao Gang 蕭綱 (503–51) composed a stele inscription for Pan's lodge (YWLJ, 78.1341; Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 28–29). There is also a hagiographic vignette of Pan as a man who was very generous in giving alms to the poor and as a travel companion to Tao (DZ 1139, 1.2b3–5 [ZHDZ, 405c]; TPYL, 409.2b [p. 2016]; trans. Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 233–34).

⁷⁹ Chu Zhongyan 褚仲儼 was the grand nephew of Chu Boyu 褚伯玉 (394–479 CE), a recluse who practiced at Mount Pubu 瀑布山 of Huoshan 霍山 (Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," 60; Robson, *Power of Place*, 79; cf. T 2059, 50.396a16–19; GSZ, 11.403). Mount Taiping is in the western part of present-day Tiantai 天台 county, Zhejiang province (ZGGJ, 1314) and was the site of the Taiping Lodge that Qi Emperor Gao (Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成, 427–82 CE) sponsored in Chu Boyu's honor sometime between 479–82. A stele inscription written by Kong Zhigui 孔稚圭 (447–501 CE) to commemorate the this creation of this site is partially extant (YWLJ, 37.659; Chen, *Daojia jinshi lue*, 13; DZ 1132, 1.11b10 [ZHDZ, 28.386a]; Bumbacher, *The Fragments*, 199–203).

⁸⁰ This is a posthumous title of Qi Emperor Wu (r. 483–93), Xiao Ze 蕭蹟 (440–93 CE), byname Xuanyuan 宣遠. Xiao Ze was the ruler when Tao retired from officialdom. Both Tao's letter of resignation ("Jieguan biao" 解官表) and Xiao's reply ("Zhao da" 詔答) are extant. See THJJZ, 55–57.

⁸¹ This is the posthumous title of Xiao Luan 蕭鸞 (452–98 CE), byname Jinglou 景樓, i.e., Qi Emperor Ming, r. 494–98.

⁸² Xiao Yun 蕭筠 is likely a scribal error for Xiao Jun 蕭鈞 (472–93), the eldest son of Xiao Daocheng (Qi Emperor Gao) and the prince of Hengyang.

揚州刺史始安王蕭遙光

Prefect of Jingzhou and duke of Wenxian, Xiao Yaixin⁸⁴

荊州刺史聞憲公蕭遙欣

Director of Imperial Secretariat, junior guardian of the heir apparent, viceroy of Danyang, and marquis of Jianchang, Shen Yue⁸⁵

尚書令太子少保丹陽尹建昌侯沈約

Palatine ceremonially equal to the three authorities, sincere and respectful duke of Pinggu, Lü Sengzhen⁸⁶

⁸³ Xiao Yaoguang 蕭遙光 (467?–99 CE), byname Yuanhui 元暉, was a young, but central figure in the machinations of Xiao Luan, whose bloody rise to power left dozens of royals dead. Yaoguang was the eldest son of Xiao Luan's eldest brother, Xiao Feng 蕭鳳, and was instrumental in leading at least three major purges of the royal family on Xiao Luan's behalf (Bielenstein, "The Six Dynasties: Volume 1," 179, 182). However when Xiao Luan's second son, Xiao Baojuan 蕭寶卷 (483–502 CE), took the throne in 498, Yaoguang began plotting a coup against him. After his younger brother, Xiao Yaixin, died, Yaoguang's plot against the throne was discovered, but not before he managed to stage a massive, but ultimately unsuccessful rebellion. On September 6, 499, he was captured and decapitated. See *Nan Qishu*, 7.98, 12.206, 42.751, 45.788–91; *NS*, 41.1039–42. I follow Rogers (*The Chronicle*, 217n85) in understanding *cishi* 刺史 in its gubernatorial sense rather than its earlier role as imperial investigator. Unlike Rogers, who translates the term as governor, I use prefect to distinguish it from *taishou* 太守. See also Hucker (*A Dictionary*, 558n7567), who describes the changing duties of this office well, but whose translation ("Regional Inspector") conveys the archaic sense of this office.

⁸⁴ *Nan Qishu*, 45.791–92. Bielenstein, "The Six Dynasties: Volume 1," 184.

⁸⁵ Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513 CE), byname Xiwen 休文, began his career at the end of the Liu-Song dynasty serving under prominent officials in the upper Yangzi area. During the Southern Qi, he became part of the entourage of Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460–94 CE), the Prince of Jingling, whose literary salon was an eminent center for literary activities. Shen withdrew from the capital life several times during the chaotic years of the later Qi, but reemerged in the Liang as one of the emperor's closest advisors. Shen's relationship with Tao began when Shen had left the capital in 493 to accept a provincial assignment in Dongyang 東陽 (present-day Jinhua 金華, Zhejiang province). Shen wrote Tao several letters inviting him to visit and composed several poems in his honor. The two also maintained lively correspondence on the spread of Buddhism in China. Mather, *The Poet Shen Yüeh*, 115–20, 138–40, and *The Age of Eternal Brilliance*, 1: 270–74n176–78; Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 44–51. On the office of the Imperial Secretariat (*shangshu* 尚書) and its directorship (*ling* 令), see Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 410–12n5042, 5049. As junior guardian (*shaobao* 少保) of the heir apparent, Shen was one of the three counselors to the crown prince (Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 485n6252). Jianchang 建昌 refers to western Fengxin 奉新 county, Jiangxi province (*ZGGJ*, 615c). On the bestowment of his title of marquis, see *LS*, 13.235.

⁸⁶ Lü Sengzhen 呂僧珍 (454–511 CE), byname Yuanyu 元瑜, was an eminent military officer of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. He was familiar with Tao's circle of acquaintances (Mather, *The Age*, 229–34n151–52), however, I have been unable to make any connection between Lü and Maoshan. For Lü's biographical info, see *LS*, 11.211–14. "Palatine ceremonially equal to the three authorities" (*kaifu yitong sansi* 開府儀同三司) was a title bestowed to high-ranking generals. Various forms of this title, such as "equal of the three authorities" (*tong sansi* 同三司) and "ceremonially equal to the three authorities" (*yitong sansi* 儀同三司) had appeared by the late Han. Such titles were bestowed to generals in an effort to put a damper on the charisma of generals by making them ritually inferior to the chief civil minister of the state. See Rogers, *The Chronicle*, 229n260; Goodrich, *Biography of Su Ch'o*, 105–06, n. 245. Hucker (*A Dictionary*, 275n3105) translates this as "commander unequalled in honor." The title "sincere and respectful" (*zhongjing* 忠敬) was a posthumous one

開府儀同三司平固忠敬公呂僧珍

Palace attendant of the Board of Personnel and Imperial Secretariat, governor of Wuxing, Xie Lan⁸⁷

侍中吏部尚書吳興太守謝覽

Prefect of the Southern Liang Region, king of Yuzhang, and commander, Ji Yanzhou⁸⁸

南梁州刺史豫章王司馬季延胄

Prefect of Jiaozhou, prince of Shixing, and Commander, Ruan Yan⁸⁹

交州刺史始興王司馬阮研

Governor of Linhai, Fu Manrong⁹⁰

臨海太守伏曼容

that Xiao Yan bestowed on Lü at his death (*NS*, 56.1397). Pinggu 平固 is in present-day Xingguo 興國 county, Jiangxi province (*ZGGJ*, 210a).

⁸⁷ Xie Lan 謝覽 (fl. 502–13 CE), byname Jingdi 景滌, was appointed as vice director (*shilang* 侍郎) of the Secretariat in 502 at a young age (*LS*, 15.265, 21.321; *NS*, 24.654; Wu, *Written at Imperial Command*, 126). It is likely that Tao's "Da Xie zhongshu shu" 答謝中書書 was a letter addressed to Xie Lan at this time (*THJJZ*, 291–305). Xie soon retired from this post upon his mother's death and was later reinstated as a palace attendant (*shizhong* 侍中), a lower rank in which he was responsible for criticizing memorials on behalf of Court Secretaries and managing the imperial regalia (Rogers, *The Chronicle*, 198n40; Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 423n5229). After quelling a rebellion in the summer of 510, Xie quickly rose in rank, culminating in his 513 appointment as governor of Wuxing (present-day Huzhou 湖州, Zhejiang province). It was here that he died at the age of thirty-six. Tao's earliest extant biography, the "Tao xiansheng xiaozhuan" 陶先生小傳, was composed between 492–93 by Xie Lun 謝淪 (*DZ* 1032, 107.1a–b [*YJQQ*, 107.2320]; *DZ* 304, 9.9a [*ZHDZ*, 48.414b]; Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 381). In his official biography, Xie Lun is identified as the son of Xie Yao 謝淪, the younger brother of Xie Fei 謝朓 (*LS*, 15.265). Note the character Yao should have a *cao* 艸 semantic graph, but I am unable to reproduce it here (*DKW* 7.256n18813). Yao and Lun are likely graphic variants thus making Xie Lan the son of Tao's early biographer.

⁸⁸ I have been unsuccessful in locating any information about Ji Yanzhou. The Southern Liang Region (*Nanliang zhou* 南梁州) was established by the Liang in 503 to control four counties in present-day northern Sichuan. The administrative seat was in present-day Langzhong 閬中 (*ZGGJ*, 592c). From 505–35, this region fell under the control of the Northern Wei. It is likely, therefore, that Ji's associations with Tao were at the turn of the sixth century. Yuzhang 豫章 is present-day Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi province (*ZGGJ*, 1243b).

⁸⁹ Ruan Yan 阮研, byname Wenji 文幾, was from Chenliu 陳留 (present-day northern Chenliu county, Henan province) and was a famous calligraphist. Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record*, 43, 239, 359; *NS*, 49.1226.

⁹⁰ Fu Manrong 伏曼容 (421–502 CE), byname Gongyi 公儀, was a famous minister of the Liu-Song and Qi dynasties. He was born in Anqiu 安丘 in Pingchang 平昌 (southwest of present-day Anqiu county, Shandong province; *ZGGJ*, 210c). His father died at a young age and he, his mother, and brothers subsequently moved to the Nanhai 南海 [i.e., Guangzhou]. There Fu established himself as an expert of the classics and later became a high-ranking official, first as a governor of Nanhai, and later as governor of Linhai 臨海. The latter was an administrative seat rest southeast of present-day Linhai, Zhejiang province (*ZGGJ*, 1292a). By the end of his official career, Fu had produced numerous commentaries on classical texts such as the *Yijing*, *Shijing*, and *Laozi*. He was renown for his abilities in numerology and musical acoustics, and was thought to have over one thousand disciples. *LS*, 48.662–63; *NS*, 71.1730–31; Nielsen, *A Companion to Yi jing Numerology*, 65–66.

Governor of Jin'an, Xie Da⁹¹

晉安太守謝答

Governor of Jinxi, Ji Sengmeng⁹²

晉熙太守紀僧猛

The august emperor, Wu of Liang⁹³

梁武皇帝

Grand commandant, prefect of Yangzhou, and prince of Linchuan, Xiao Hong⁹⁴

太尉揚州刺史臨川王蕭宏

Palatine ceremonially equal to the three authorities, and prince of Nanping, Xiao Wei⁹⁵

開府儀同三司南平王蕭偉

The heir of the king of Nanping, Xiao Ke⁹⁶

⁹¹ I have been unable to locate any information on Xie Da 謝答. There are two possible locations for Jin'an 晉安. The first is present-day Nan'an 南安 county, Fujian province and the other is in the southern part of present-day Zhaohua 昭化, Sichuan province (*ZGGJ*, 704a). Given Tao's extensive travels along the southeast coast of China, it is likely that the former may be the correct location.

⁹² Ji Sengmeng 紀僧猛 became governor of Jinxi 晉熙 (present-day Qianshan 潛山, Anhui province; *ZGGJ*, 705a) in 494 upon a recommendation by his older brother, Ji Sengzhen 紀僧真 (444–98). See *Nan Qishu*, 56.974. He was famous for his "flying white" (*feibai* 飛白) calligraphy, a stroke made with a half-dry brush leaving white streaks instead of a solid black character. *NS*, 77.1926; Chang, *Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy*, 135; Tseng, *A History of Chinese Calligraphy*, 88–89.

⁹³ Zhang Dunyi (see above) notes that Xiao Yan's name was altered during the recarving of this stele monument in the eighth century. Zhang does not, however, indicate what Tao had inscribed here.

⁹⁴ Xiao Hong 蕭宏 (473–526 CE), byname Xuanda 宣達, was the sixth son of Xiao Shunzhi 蕭順之 (d. 492), and father of Xiao Yan. He served a wide range of civic and military posts throughout his life, and was probably most well-known as the subject of a famous satire "Qian yu lun" 錢愚論, a text that criticized his sumptuous lifestyle, and which circulated like quickly despite imperial censure (*NS*, 51.1278; Tian, *Beacon Fire*, 85). His biographical info can be found in *LS*, 22.339–41; *NS*, 51.1275–79. During the Han dynasty, grand commandant (*taiwei* 太尉) was the chief commander of the army, whose managed all facets of the military bureaucracy such as appointments, memorials, communications, and judiciary. During the early medieval era, the title was sometimes used in a similar way, but it also appeared in the title of a senior military officer of a principedom (*wangguo*). It is in this last sense the title appears here.

⁹⁵ Xiao Wei 蕭偉 (d. 524 CE), byname Wenda 文達, was the eighth son of Xiao Shunzhi. He was bestowed both the titles on this inscription in 518. Wei was a key figure in the military struggles that ended the Qi dynasty, and he was an eminent official throughout the Liang dynasty. In addition to his political, Xiao Wei is also remembered as a patron of the literary arts, and the sponsor of the Fanglinyuan 芳林苑, where he constructed lavish buildings and gardens to house his salon. He also wrote famous treatises on human nature (*xingqing* 性情) and divinities (*jishen* 幾神). His biographical info can be found in *LS*, 22.346–48; *NS*, 52.1290–92. Nanping 南平 is in present-day Gong'an 公安 county near the old precincts of Jingzhou 荊州, Hubei province (*ZGGJ*, 584a; Qiao, *Lidai yudi*, 50a; Hong, *Dong Jin jiangyu zhi*, 3608.3).

⁹⁶ Xiao Ke 蕭恪 (d. 552 CE), byname Jingze 敬則, is the eldest son of Xiao Wei (see previous note). He has a biography in *NS*, 52.1292 in which he described as serving a wide variety of administrative posts, mostly at the prefect and director levels.

南平王世子蕭恪

Palace attendant, bailiff of Yuzhang, grand commandant, and senior administrator, Xie Ju⁹⁷

侍中豫章內史太尉長史謝舉

The first heir to Linchuan and former marquis of Luoping, Xiao Lizheng⁹⁸

臨川正世子前羅平侯蕭立正

Chief court justiciar, Yu Quan⁹⁹

廷尉卿虞權

The aforementioned princes, marquises, knights, and officials on this two thousand [word] stone have all received scriptures and teachings. I have recorded this rough list on June 14, 522.

右王侯朝士刺史二千石，過去見在受經法者。普通三年五月五日略記。

⁹⁷ Xie Ju 謝舉 (d. 548 CE), byname Yanyang 言揚, was the son of Xie Lan (see above). By the age of thirteen, Xie wrote under the auspices of prominent literati like Shen Yue and Ren Fang, and lived on to earn a decorated career as a Liang officer. Xie was also known for his indifference in taking up lower-level posts and often requested leave from government service (Tian, *Beacon Fire*, 51). He is also identified by Jia Song 賈嵩 as one of Tao's most famous disciples (DZ 300, 2.17b [ZHDZ, 46.231a]). Xie's biography is found in *LS*, 37.529–31. Bailiff (*neishi* 內史), literally “inner notary,” was the chief executive of a Kingdom (*wangguo*). See Rogers, *The Chronicle*, 252n440, 303. Hucker (*A Dictionary*, 350n4236) translates this post as “administrator.” On the location of Yuzhang, see above.

⁹⁸ Xiao Lizheng 蕭立正 was one of Xiao Hong's (see above) seven sons. Originally, Xiao Hong's eldest son, Xiao Zhengren 蕭正仁, was first to inherit his father's titles and fortune, but in 511 he died prematurely. The matter was brought to the attention of the emperor, who then chose Xiao Lizheng, who was then the Marquis of Luoping to succeed his brother's place (*LS*, 22.341). Luoping is present-day Luoding 羅定 county, Guangdong province (ZGGJ, 1349a).

⁹⁹ Yu Quan 虞權 served as a judge, as well as prefect in the Liang dynasty. He was a member of the elite Yu clan of Yuyao 餘姚. Court justiciar (*tingwei* 廷尉) was a post charged with the investigation, trial, and punishment of all criminal cases (Rogers, *The Chronicle*, 249n422). The *tingwei qing* 廷尉卿 was the chief minister of all of the Court of Judicial Review (*dali si* 大理寺). See Hucker, *A Dictionary*, 512n6770.

MEASUREMENTS

One *chi* 尺 = one-third of a meter

One *dou* 斗 = ten liters

One *hu* 斛 = fifty liters

One *jin* 斤 = half a kilogram

One *li* 里 mile = half a kilometer

One *mou* 畝 = six hundred square meters

One *qing* 頃 = six thousand square meters

One *zhang* 丈 = three meters

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	<i>Asia Major, 3rd series</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CEA	<i>Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie</i>
CSJC	<i>Congshu jicheng</i> 叢書集成. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939.
CSZJJ	<i>Chu sanzang jiji</i> 出三藏記集. Ed. Sengyou 僧祐. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995.
DKW	<i>Dai kan-wa jiten</i> 大漢和辭典. Ed. MOROHASHI Tetsuji 諸橋轍次. Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1955–60.
DZ	<i>Zhengtong daoze</i> 正統道藏. Texts cited by their number in Schipper, <i>The Taoist Canon</i> , 1393–440.
ET	<i>The Encyclopedia of Taoism</i> , ed. Fabrizio Pregadio. London: Routledge, 2008.
FGDCD	<i>Foguang da cidian</i> 佛光大辭典
GSZ	<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i> 高僧傳. Ed. TANG Yongtong 湯用彤. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992.
HHS	<i>Hou Han shu</i> 後漢書. Ed. FAN Ye 范曄 (398–444). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HNZ	<i>Huainanzi jiaoshi</i> 淮南子. Ed. ZHANG Shuangdi 張雙棣. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997.
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCR	<i>Journal of Chinese Religions</i>
JGT	WENG Danian 翁大年 (1811–1890). “Jiuguantan bei kao” 舊館壇碑考. <i>Shike shiliao xinbian</i> 石刻史料新編. Ser 3. Vol. 34. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1986. 619–31.

- LS *Liangshu* 梁書. Ed. YAO Silian 姚思廉 (557–637). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.
- LXZ *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳. Ed. WANG Shumin 王叔岷. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007.
- LYQLJJ *Luoyang qielan ji jiaojian* 洛陽伽藍記校箋. Ed. YANG Yong 楊勇. Taipei: Zhengshi shuju, 1982.
- MXJ *Mingxiang ji yanjiu* 冥祥記. Ed. WANG Guoliang. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1999.
- NS *Nanshi* 南史. Ed. LI Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 676–79). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.
- QLW *Quan Liang wen* 全梁文. In *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文. Ed. YAN Kejun 嚴可均. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958.
- QTW *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.
- SHJJZ *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注. Ed. YUAN Ke 袁珂. Taipei: Liren shuju, 1995.
- SJZ *Shuijing zhu jiaozheng* 水經注校證. Ed. CHEN Qiaoyi 陳橋驛. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007.
- SKKK YOSHIKAWA Tadao 吉川忠夫 and MUGITANI Kunio 麥谷邦夫. *Shinkō kenkyū: Yakuchū hen* 「真誥」研究—譯注篇. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 2000.
- SKQS *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書.
- SLG HONG Liangji 洪亮吉. *Shiliuguo jiangyu zhi* 十六國疆域志. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1968.
- SQZR GU Yuangou 顧沅鈞. “Shangqing zhenren Xu changshi jiugaun tan bei” 上清真人許長史舊館壇碑. *Shike shiliao xinbian* 石刻史料新編. Ser 3. Vol. 2. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1986. 567–74.
- SSJZS *Shisanjing zhushu, fu jiaokan ji* 十三經注疏附校勘記. Ed. RUAN Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849).
- SSMTK YOSHIKAWA Tadao 吉川忠夫 and MUGITANI Kunio 麥谷邦夫. *Shūshi Meitsūki kenkyū (yakuchū hen)* 「周氏冥通記」研究（譯注篇）. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 2003.

- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Eds. TAKAKUSA Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and WATANABE Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭. Tokyo, 1924–35.
- THJJZ *Tao Hongjing ji jiaozhu* 陶弘景集校注. Ed. WANG Jingzhou 王京州. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009.
- TP *T'oung Pao*
- TPYL *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽. Ed. LI Fang 李昉 (925–96). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1997.
- WX *Wen xuan* 文選. Ed. LI Shan 李善. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1998.
- WXI *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*. See under Knechtges.
- WXII *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature. Volume Two*. See under Knechtges.
- WXIII *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature. Volume Three*. See under Knechtges.
- WYYH *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華. Ed. LI Fang 李昉 (925–96). Taipei: Dahua shuju, 1985.
- X *Xinbian wanzi xuzang jing* 新編卅字續藏經. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1968–70. [This is a reprint of *Dai Nippon Zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, ed. NAKANO Tatsue 中野達惠. (Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905–12).]
- XYGSZ *Xinyi Gaoseng zhuan* 新譯高僧傳. Ed. ZHU Hengfu 朱恒夫 et al. Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2005.
- YJQQ *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤. Ed. ZHANG Junfang 張君房. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003.
- YWLJ *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚. Ed. OUYANG Xun 歐陽詢. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1965.
- ZGGJ *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian* 中國古今地名大辭典. Ed ZANG Lihe 臧勵龢 et al. 1931; Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1972.
- ZHDZ *Zhonghua daoang* 中華道藏. Ed. ZHANG Jiyu 張繼禹. 49 vols. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2004.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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TEACHING and RESEARCH AREAS

Primary

History of Chinese religions (Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism); Chinese literature (ancient and medieval)

Secondary

Comparative Religion; Religious Poetry; Sacred Space; Ritual Architecture; Chinese Gardens

EDUCATION

Dual Ph.D. Indiana University, April 2013 (Religious Studies and Chinese Literature)
M.A. University of Colorado at Boulder, 2004 (Chinese Literature)
B.A. Indiana University, 2001 (Chinese Language and Literature)

Non-degree courses of study: Mandarin Training Center, Taipei, 1999-2000 (highest proficiency)

PUBLICATIONS

Year of publication in parentheses denotes works accepted but not yet published

Peer-reviewed articles

- (2013) "The Reclamation of Maoshan," in *Studies in Chinese Religions*.
2011 "Lixiang de didian: *Peijun zhuan* de kongjian shijian" 理想的地點：《裴君傳》的空間實踐, [A perfect place: spatial shifts in the *Peijun zhuan*], in *Daojiao shenqi xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* 道教神祇學術研討會論文集.
2008 "The Erotic Empress: Fantasy and Sovereignty in Chinese Temple Inscriptions" *T'ang Studies* 26: 125-42.

Translations

2010 Zhang Xunliao, "Daoist Stelae of the Northern Dynasties" 北朝時期的道教造像

- 碑 in *Early Chinese Religion Part Two: The Period of Division (220–589 AD)*, Brill. 436–543.
- 2003 *Building Taiwan the Beautiful* 台灣建築之美. Taipei: Xingzhengyuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui.

Book reviews

- Dorothy Wong, *Chinese Steles: Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Use of a Symbolic Form*. *China Review International*. 12.2 (2005): 570-74.
- Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Poetry and Prophecy: The Written Oracle in East Asia*. *China Review International* 13.2 (2006): 512-17.

DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS

- 2011 Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation Dissertation Fellowship
- 2010 Henry Luce Foundation/ACLS Dissertation Fellowship in East and Southeast Asian Archaeology and Early History
- 2009 Fulbright U.S. Student Scholarship, Taiwan

RESEARCH AWARDS and ACADEMIC HONORS

- 2010 Indiana University College of Arts and Sciences Dissertation Year Research Fellowship Award
- 2009 Visiting Junior Scholar, Academia Sinica (Taipei, Taiwan)
- 2008 Grant-in-Aid of Doctoral Research Award, Indiana University
- 2008 Louise Wallace Hackney Fellowship for the Study of Chinese Art
- 2008 Critical Language Enhancement Award, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
- 2005 McNutt Fellowship, Indiana University
- 2005 Participant in Chinese Paleography Workshop, University of Chicago
- 2005–10 Ten competitive travel awards received from College of Arts and Sciences, Graduate and Professional Student Organization, and East Asian Studies Center (Indiana University)
- 2001–04 EALC Graduate Student Fellowship, University of Colorado
- 2001 Professor Toyooki Uehara Scholarship, Indiana University
- 2000 Ministry of Education Fellowship (Taipei, Taiwan)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor

- 2012–13 Introduction to Daoism
- 2005–11 Introduction to East Asian Civilization
- 2008 Introduction to Buddhism
- 2008 Daoism and Popular Religion
- 2007 Chinese Sacred Space
- 2007 Religions of the East
- 2006 Business Chinese

Associate Instructor

- 2007 Modern East Asian Civilization
- 2006 East Asian Popular Culture
- 2002–06 First-year Chinese
- 2002–05 Introduction to East Asian Civilization

PAPERS and LECTURES (* indicates invited talks)

- 2013 *Religion, Drugs, and the Rewriting of Chinese Temples, Reed College
- 2011 The [Re]construction of Medieval Medicine in Cotemporary China, Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Chinese Religions Group
- 2011 Chair and Organizer of “Science and Religion in China” panel at Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference (endorsed by Society for the Study of Chinese Religions)
- 2010 “Resurrecting Maoshan: The Renovation of Temple Ruins in Medieval Daoism,” Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Daoist Studies Group
- 2010 “The Adaptation of Confucian Liturgical Music in Contemporary Chinese Buddhism and Daoism,” Department of Folklore and Ethnomusicology, Indiana University
- 2010 “Promoters of Paradise: The Temple Architects of Medieval China,” Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Indiana University
- 2009 “Barbarian Hemp and the Propagation of Holy Plants in Medieval China,” Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Chinese Religions Group
- 2009 * “Holy Plants and Holy People: Material and Identity in Medieval Daoism [in Chinese],” The Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica
- 2009 * “The Place of Perfection: The Spatial Practice of Pei Xuanren’s Hagiography [in Chinese],” International Conference on Popular Chinese Religions, Taipei Pao-an Temple
- 2009 * “Remember the Saints: The Production of Hagiographies in Early Medieval China” [in Chinese], Alethia University (Taiwan)
- 2008 * “Space and Salvation in Early Daoist Monasteries [in Chinese],” Featured Speaker at Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy Symposium
- 2008 * “Rhetoric and Ritual in Tao Hongjing’s Supplication for Rain” [in Chinese],” Conference on Daoist Ritual, Cheng-chi University, Taiwan
- 2008 “Modeling Daoist Sacred Space: Imagining Emperors as Practitioners in Medieval China,” Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Daoist Studies Group
- 2008 “Uncovering Hidden Sounds: Excavating Early Confucian Odes,” Midwest Conference on East Asian Thought
- 2008 “A Savior in Stone: Cui Rong’s (652-705) Inscription at Qimu’s Shrine,” American Oriental Society Annual Meeting
- 2008 “Servants of the State?: Inscriptions from Medieval Chinese Temples,” Indiana University Religious Studies Graduate Conference
- 2007 “Who Wants to be Reborn a Millionaire: Wealth in the Lingbao [Daoist] Afterlife,” Indiana University Graduate Student Conference
- 2007 “Endemic Edifices: Putting an End to World Religions,” Paul Lucas Conference in History at Indiana University
- 2006 “A Parent to the People: Esoteric Poetry and Governance in Ancient China,” Chinese Paleography Workshop
- 2006 “The Temple of Joy: Poetic Records of Pilgrimage in Eighth Century China,” Indiana University Religious Studies Graduate Student Conference
- 2006 “Erecting a Goddess: Seventh Century Propaganda of the Zhou (690-705) Imperial Cult,” Columbia University East Asian Studies Graduate Student Conference
- 2005 “The Upper Prime Festival in Early Daoism,” Columbia University East Asian Studies Graduate Student Conference
- 2004 “Li Bo’s Writing on the Wall,” Colorado University East Asian Graduate Association’s *Tradition & Re-evolution* Conference
- 2003 “Recollections of 17th Century Chinese Festivals” at the Western Humanities Alliance *Memory, Material, and Meaning* Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah

SELECTED COURSEWORK

2006	Lingbao Daoism
2006	Interpretations of Religion
2006	Medieval Epigraphy
2006	Practices of the Self
2006	Tang Dynasty Buddhism
2006	Chinese Paleographic Texts
2005	Medieval Chinese Poetry
2005	Early Chinese Buddhist Sutras
2005	Chinese Gardens: Images & Texts
2005	Advanced Readings in Chinese Buddhist Texts
2004	Cross-Cultural Study of Religions
2004	The Reign of Wu Zhao
2004	Ancient Poetry (Chuci)
2003	Daoism
2003	Chinese Prose
2002	Ming Dynasty Literature
2002	Tang Poetry
2002	Sinological Methods
2001	Chinese Poetry

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE and VOLUNTEER WORK

2013	English editor, <i>Studies in Chinese Religions</i>
2011	Reviewed manuscripts for <i>Lifewriting Annual</i>
2009	Reviewed manuscripts for <i>Zaoqi Zhongguo shi yanjiu</i> 早期中國史研究 [Studies in early Chinese history]
2008	Contributor, Digital Dictionary of Buddhism
2007	Graduate Representative, East Asian Studies Center External Review Committee, Indiana University
2007	Graduate, Growing Organic Educator Series, Bloomington IN
2005–06	Graduate Student Representative, Indiana University
2005	Research Assistant, Ming Dynasty Buddhism Project
2005	Subscriptions Manager, <i>Journal of Chinese Religions</i> and <i>Journal of Buddhist Literature</i>
2004	Organizer, East Asian Graduate Association Conference
2002–04	Financial Officer, Colorado University East Asian Graduate Association
2002–04	Technology Liaison, University of Colorado
2003–04	Graduate Student Representative, University of Colorado
2001–04	Teaching Certification Program, University of Colorado
2003	Translator for Taiwan's Council for Cultural Affairs
2002	Technology Committee, East Asian Languages and Civilizations